

JPRS-EER-88-036  
6 MAY 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

JPRS-EER-88-036

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## BULGARIA

### Ambassador to Lebanon Appointed

22000028 Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian  
29 Mar 88 p 1

[Summary] On 18 March 1988, the State Council appointed Stiliyan Danov Stoyanov as ambassador to the Republic of Lebanon.

### Government Announces Personnel Changes

22000029 Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian  
1 Apr 88 p 1

[Summary] On 25 March 1988, the State Council released Aleksandur Petkov Yordanov from his position as first deputy chairman of the Council of Agriculture and Forestry at the Council of Ministers. It also released Ivan Khristov Angelov from his position as first deputy chairman of the Social Council at the Council of Ministers.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Havel Comments on Jakes Regime

23000064 Vienna PROFIL in German  
21 Mar 88 pp 58, 62

[Interview with Vaclav Havel by Otmar Lahodinsky:  
"Hunger for Free Information"]

[Text]

[Profil] Once again, you and other civil rights activists were jailed for 48 hours. What was the reason this time?

[Havel] It happened on March 4. My wife and I were about to leave for a dinner party at the British Embassy when the police showed up. I was briefly interrogated. They wanted to know if I was planning to attend the pilgrimage mass in Veits Cathedral in Prague on the coming Sunday. I did not answer of course, and was released. However, a uniformed police officer was already waiting for me in front of the police station. He checked my identification papers and pushed me into a car carrying my previous interrogators were. They drove me to the Ruzyn Prison where I spent the next 48 hours. This is how long the police can hold a citizen without having to give any reason or to file charges. A total of 19 Chartists and Catholic activists were detained this time.

[Profil] And all that just for a pilgrimage mass?

[Havel] These arrests were only a part of more comprehensive security measures. Because a great many people were expected to come from all over the republic, trains and buses were intentionally delayed. Street cars were detoured and a subway station near the Hradshin was closed. A lot of uniformed and plain clothes police were present inside and outside the cathedral. A certain reawakening of religious feeling has made our government

nervous. It worries in particular because of the petition that calls for the separation of church and state which has already been signed by 350,000 people. This is why the police were so terrified of this mass.

[Profil] Such police actions must reflect badly on Jakes, the new party chairman, who not too long ago proposed confidence building measures between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

[Havel] The police surely were not acting alone. There must have been some sort of political backing and that puts Jakes' proposals into a rather sinister light.

[Profil] It is also not exactly part of the diplomatic code to arrest the guests of a British undersecretary.

[Havel] I could not make it to this dinner given by Undersecretary Ratford of the British Foreign Ministry because I had been arrested shortly before, but my wife wanted to go with my friend Zdenek Urbanek. However, the whole building was surrounded; only two guests managed to get through. All others were arrested and interrogated. The British government filed a strong protest, stressing that the Czechoslovakian Embassy in London has, after all, the right to invite anyone it pleases.

[Profil] What do you think of the new regime's cautious economic reforms?

[Havel] Marx was right when he said that history repeats itself, the first time as tragedy and the second time as comedy. Our reforms have all the characteristics of a comedy. The same people who in 1968 suppressed all reform and have been persecuting for the past 20 years, are now calling themselves reformers. They spend a lot of energy explaining how their reforms differ from those of 1968. They say that the 1968 reforms served the abuse of political power, while present day reforms are intended to strengthen socialism. They pay lip service to perestroika and glasnost, while their entire being is bent on opposing reform. They want to maintain the status quo. Their proposals are merely cosmetic and refuse to address the reasons why our economy and our society are in such a crisis. One cannot help getting the impression that the new leadership under Jakes was installed to give more reliable guarantees for maintaining the status quo than former Party Chairman Gustav Husak and Premier Lubomir Strougal were able to give. Thus, there is no reason to expect forceful reforms from the current leadership, but that does not mean that there won't be some sort of a move toward reform in the future.

[Profil] You are now working for a new underground monthly called LIDOVE NOVINY.

[Havel] Some of my friends had the idea to enrich the samizdat with the publication of a real newspaper. It was a glorious idea to tie into the tradition of LIDOVE



NOVINY, the best Czech newspaper before the communist era. We just published the third regular issue, and the public's phenomenal interest in our publication stresses the hunger of our society for independent, free information.

[Profil] You even sought to have this monthly newspaper officially registered. What was the official reaction?

[Havel] Until now, officials had not even honored such an application with an answer. But this time, something unexpected happened—they invited the editor-in-chief and the representative of the editorial council to discuss the possibility of registering the newspaper in some way.

[Profil] In your first issue you wrote that myths about the Prague Spring and self-pitying articles by the "reform-communist wing in our world of dissidents" have no place in this paper. Against whom was this criticism directed?

[Havel] I have the impression that throughout all these years certain habits and deplorable attitudes have been formed in our ghetto of dissidents. For example, the tendency to be preoccupied with one's self and with private problems. We want to create a real newspaper, one that sees the world as it is—from a bird's eye perspective—and not from the narrow view of the dissident's milieu. With regards to the reform-communists, I would like to say the following: the only journalists back then who had anything to do with real newspapers and could do it again today were the reform-minded communists of the sixties who were later forced out of the official newspapers. And it is among these people that one finds this tone expressed which I mentioned earlier.

[Profil] There are indications of a cautious opening in the cultural sphere. Movie theaters showed the film "Bony a Klid" which rather openly shows corruption in the police and court system. Art galleries no longer just display works celebrating "socialist realism". Is the fresh new wind blowing from Moscow responsible for this?

[Havel] It is true that things are much better than they used to be. For example, theaters can once again have performances by authors like Fischer who a short time ago were hardly seen. You mentioned correctly that movies and art exhibitions enjoy more leeway. But that does not constitute a real change in official cultural policy. What happened is that the cultural potential, the pressure from below, has simply conquered more territory and has succeeded to some degree in making use of the current situation. There exists perhaps a somewhat greater liberal attitude on some levels of official decision making, but it does cover those that were blacklisted after 1968 or were politically active such as the Charter-77 people. There is no indication that their work is considered for publication. Nothing has happened so far and nothing will happen at the moment. Here and there,

one can observe a sort of atmospheric change for the better, but it is a far cry from the far-reaching changes taking place in the Soviet Union right now.

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## POLAND

### Press, Personnel Changes, Media Developments, October 1987

26000137b Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish  
No 12, Dec 87 pp 56-60

[Excerpts]

#### 1 October

Zbigniew Chmiec was appointed chief editor of the monthly journal PAN.

Zygmunt Dziubek was appointed chief editor of SPORT and resigned his position as deputy chief editor of the same publication.

Eugeniusz Gotowiec was appointed deputy chief editor of TOP.

Wieslaw Krupa was appointed chief editor of FAKTY and resigned as chief editor of the "Pomorz" Non-Press Publishing House.

Barbara Sidorczuk was appointed deputy chief editor of the monthly PAN.

Eugeniusz Waszczuk was dismissed as ZYCIE WARSZAWY's correspondent in the German Democratic Republic and West Berlin.

Ryszard Zietek was appointed chief editor of the "Pomorz" Non-Press Publishing House.

In Warsaw, the Palace of Soviet Science and Culture and the SD "Friendship" Writer's Club jointly organized a meeting on the theme "Reconstruction — the revolutionary renewal of society — reinforcement and development of the achievements of October".

#### 3 October

Seven journalists from GAZETA POMORSKA, DZIENNIK WIECZORNY, ILUSTROWANY KURIER POLSKI, ZOLNIERZ POLSKI LUDOWEJ, FAKTY and the Polish Broadcasting System, all members of the regional chapter of the SD "Friendship" Writer's Club, returned from their 27 October trip to Grodno (Belorussian SSR) which was part of a working exchange of journalists between the cities of Bydgoszcz and Grodno. The journalists from Bydgoszcz visited Novogrodek, Lida, Minsk and several kolkhozes. Part of the visit's program was also devoted to conversations with workers at the "Azota" Nitrogen Works, the

"Niemen" Glass Works and an electronics plant on Lake Svitez and also with cultural figures and writers. They also visited the Adam Mickiewicz Museum in Novogrodek and the Eliza Orzeszkowa Museum in Grodno. Conversations with the district committee of the Belorussian Communist Party in Grodno confirmed the need for such cooperation between both groups.

#### 7 October

At the Warsaw Journalist's Palace, the editors of EKRAN celebrated the paper's 30th anniversary.

The editors of EKRAN were awarded by the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship with the medal "For merit in the development of cultural cooperation between Poland and the USSR".

#### 8-9 October

The SD Transportation and Communications Writer's Club in Radom and Lublin organized a session devoted to the problems of communications and telecommunications. Participants visited the Radom Telephone Factory where they met the directors.

Problems of telecommunications were discussed by the vice-minister of communications, Kazimierz Czarnecki, and ministry department directors Grzegorz Wisniewski, Stanislaw Filipiak and Halina Smolenska.

#### 8-14 October

Bydgoszcz received a revisit from an 8-member group of journalists from Grodno (Belorussian SSR). The guests saw historical sites in the Bydgoszcz region, went to many meetings such as one with the party aktiv at the "Romet" Bicycle Factory and at the voivodship PZPR committee and also learned about the city's cultural life. They also visited Bydgoszcz journalists at their homes.

Both visits were an informative exchange of experience. It was therefore decided that cooperation in the form of more such exchanges would be continued and broadened.

#### 9 October

In Moscow, the "Novost" Press Agency began a series of conferences for foreign correspondents. These conferences were dedicated to the problem of "blank spots" in Soviet history.

#### 13 October

The Warsaw SD Social and Legal Writer's Club organized a meeting dedicated to the evaluation of public safety and order which was attended by General Zbigniew Pudysz, vice-minister of internal affairs, and General Zenon Trzcinski, chief commandant of the Citizen's Militia. Also present were General Janusz

Sereda who spoke about crimes connected with foreign intelligence services and Colonel Jerzy Karpacz who presented the ministry's position on the use of the irregular penal laws.

#### 14-15 October

At the Technicians's Palace in Lublin, the SD Film Critic's Club organized a conference dedicated to Polish video cassettes and satellite television. The conference was attended by Ryszard Krysko of the Cinematography Committee, Antoni Konikowski, technical affairs director at the Kasprzak Works, and Mieczyslaw Kozak, technical affairs director of the "Diora" Radio Works.

During the conference, video films were shown, there was a demonstration of satellite television and a meeting with representatives of firms participating in the Video Producer's Fair.

#### 15 October

Wieslaw Kobylinski was appointed deputy chief editor of KURIER PODLASKI.

Halina Wilk was appointed chief editor of KURIER PODLASKI and resigned her post as deputy chief editor.

Tadeusz Winiarczyk was appointed deputy chief editor of SLOWO PODLASIA.

#### 20 October

At the Warsaw "New World" International Press and Book Club, there was an exhibit of the press photography of 9 outstanding Soviet press photographers. The exhibit was organized as part of a cooperative program between the USSR Journalist's Association and the SD. A year ago, 12 Polish press photographers had their work exhibited in the USSR.

#### 22-24 October

The Cultural Problems Club and the SD "Friendship" Club held an outside conference in Chełm and Luck, capital of the Volhynia District of the Ukrainian SSR. This conference was attended by more than 60 journalists from many different newspapers of the PZPR, SD, ZSL, Pax and radio and television. The conference adopted an initiative supported by Lublin's SZTANDAR LUDU and the editors of TYGODNIK CHELMSKI which has for many years maintained close contacts with Luck journalists. These ties were strengthened and broadened by the June 1987 signing of an agreement for cultural cooperation between Chełm Voivodship and Volhynia District.

The large and well-planned trip to Luck was organized not only thanks to an agreement between the SD and the USSR Journalist's Association but chiefly through the energetic efforts of the local authorities, party committees and friendship societies of the neighboring border

voivodships. The rich program was therefore the result of fruitful cultural and economic cooperation between Chelm and Volhynia over the past three years and especially in 1987.

The Polish journalists' visit to Luck aroused much local interest. Special reports with pictures were on the first page of RADYANSKA VOLYN, interviews and photographs were featured in MOLODYI LENINETS and Luck radio provided extensive coverage. The visit had a full schedule which included visits to the city, special interest visits in smaller groups, visits to workplaces and social and cultural establishments and meetings and conversations with journalists, writers, artists and actors.

A meeting with Volhynia's party and government figures hosted by First Secretary of the Luck Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Leonid Pavlenko was an occasion for learning about local problems and the current results of reconstruction in party work, the economy, education, cultural life and the mass media.

A ceremonial friendship evening was organized by World War II veterans who included some veterans of the liberation of Warsaw. The hosting journalists of Luck honored the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution by laying a wreath at the Lenin monument, at the monument to the Eternal Memory of the fallen soldier-heroes of the war with the Nazi invader and the commemorative plaque for the First Polish Army. The session ended with the Polish journalists' participation in a "Peace Chain" across the Dorohusk bridge on the Bug River where Volhynian Pioneers held a torchlight parade for Chelm voivodship Boy Scouts.

This session was the latest demonstration of the growth of the exchange of Polish and Soviet journalists in the border regions.

#### 27 October

Warsaw saw the publication of Poland's first neighborhood newspaper, PASMO, for Ursynow and Natolin districts. The chief editor of PASMO is Marek Przybylik, a ZYCIE WARSZAWY journalist and a resident of Ursynow.

PASMO is the weekly journal of the Ursynow-Natolin Social and Cultural Association and is published by the Warsaw Press RSW [Worker's cooperative Publishing House].

#### 29 October

In Warsaw, the SD "Friendship" Writer's Club and the Palace of Soviet Science and Culture organized a meeting with Professor Valeriy Popov at which international aspects of glasnost in the USSR were discussed.

#### 31 October

Henryk Laskowski was dismissed as deputy chief editor of FILM.

#### SUPPLEMENT

The chronicle of personnel changes for September 1987 which was published in our last issue did not include all decisions and we are now publishing that information.

#### 1 September

Marek Przybylik was appointed chief editor of the new Warsaw weekly, PASMO.

#### 30 September

Mieczyslaw Chaja was dismissed as chief editor of GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA.

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#### POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup

26000187b Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 6, 6 Feb 88 p 2

#### [Excerpts]

#### National News

The Council of State has presented for national consultation the planned changes in the law of 1983 on the system for national councils and local self-governments. The consultation is to last from 30 January to 1 March 1988.

The Consultative Council in the office of the chairman of the Council of State has discussed the issues associated with the second stage of the economic reform and the personnel policy of the state. The discussion raised the necessity of a clear definition of the final result of the reform or showing the model of the economy toward which the reform is to lead Poland. The council judged critically the personnel policy: its openness, readability, and effectiveness are insufficient, including criteria ensuring equal opportunities in professional careers without regard to organizational membership. The issue of broader access of non-party members to management positions was discussed.

Poland's socio-economic situation in 1987 was presented by the Central Office of Statistics. According to initial estimates the national income produced in constant prices increased by about 2 percent in comparison with 1986 (per capita by about 1 percent). The rate of growth was lower than in 1986 (4.6 percent) and lower than planned (3 percent). The low index for the growth of the national income was influenced by the decline in production in agriculture. Remuneration for work rose last year by 21.8 percent, social benefits by 29.9 percent, non-agricultural receipts in the private sector, by 57.8



percent and receipts for farmers from sales of agricultural products by 19.8 percent. Receipts in the private sector (agricultural and non-agricultural) are earmarked for production, investment, and consumption. Retail prices for goods and consumer services increased by about 26 percent including food by about 23 percent (in socialized retail by about 19 percent and in private retail by about 34 percent). Average monthly earnings for a worker in the socialized sector were 29,200 zloty (an increase of about 21 percent in comparison with 1986), for retirees, 18,800 zloty (an increase of 33.7 percent). The cost of living increased by about 26 percent for families of workers in the socialized sectors, by about 27 percent for families of retirees and pensioners, and by about 25 percent for farm families. The highest monthly earnings were in the mining industry (58,400 zloty), in the sciences and technology (33,700 zloty), and construction (32,300 zloty). The lowest were in health and social services (22,000 zloty) and in education and instruction (23,100 zloty). The prices for alcohol increased last year by about 29 percent and sales declined by 1 percent.

The Supreme Court, as a result of the extraordinary revision of the chairman of the Supreme Court, has issued its final decision in the celebrated case for damages for improper arrest on charges of beating a patient filed by the doctor, driver, and orderly. The Supreme Court upheld the decision of the Voivodship Court in Warsaw awarding all three damages, thus overturning the previous negative decision (on appeal by the prosecutor) for the driver and orderly.

There has been a devaluation of the zloty; the present exchange rate for the \$1 U.S. is 380 zloty (previously it was 319.96 zloty).

The problems of the younger generation were examined by the Joint Commission of representatives of the government and the Episcopate. The church side emphasized that the church "is undertaking an effort to provide spiritual care for all those who have emigrated, to maintain contact with their country; in its teachings it emphasizes the obligation of service by the younger generation for its own country and draws attention to the fact that the decision to leave one's country is also subject to moral judgment."

The PZPR Central Commission for Control and Review met. T. Nowicki's report stated, among other things, that "We must more decisively oppose all attempts at price manipulation, which would place the burden on society for poor work, waste, incompetence, disorder, bad work organization, etc. We also cannot allow that the principle of self-management for enterprises be used against the socialist state so that instead of strengthening the state, serving human initiative, and entrepreneurship, it leads to anarchy." In conjunction with the Commission's punishment of Leszek Lesniak, a reprimand with a warning, the Commission's plenum confirmed the expiration of his mandate as a member of the Commission. L. Lesniak as the chairman of the Central Executive

Board of the Rural Youth Union, "bears responsibility for the lack of supervision over the Agrotechnika Partnership, which caused wage abnormalities, circumvention of legal regulations, especially financial regulations by the Partnership. He also undertook actions to protect the individuals responsible for the improprieties."

The most recent of the surveys by the Public Opinion Research Center: Will service for clients in government offices improve? Of the respondents 32.2 percent said yes; 57.3 said that nothing will change in the near future; 8.8 percent said things will get worse.

"Conversion" by Andrzej Kusniewicz received the first Warsaw Premier of the Month award given this year. We congratulate the author; we do this with all the greater satisfaction since he from time to time (too infrequently!) writes for POLITYKA. The jury of ODRA gave an honorable mention to "Bohin" by Tadeusz Konwicki. Our congratulations.

Personalities. The new president of the Polish Olympic Committee is Aleksander Kwasniewski (33 years old), chairman of the Committee for Youth and Physical Culture (until the recent reform of the central offices a minister). His predecessor, Boleslaw Kapitan resigned. Gen Tadeusz Tuczapski (68 years old) is president of the Central Executive Board of the National Defense League (Gen Zygmunt Huszcza resigned from this position).

#### On the Left

On the 70th anniversary of the birth of N. Ceausescu, an occasional exhibition has been organized in Bucharest. There was also a ceremonial scholarly session titled "The Role of President Nicolae Ceausescu in the Development of Modern Romanian Science and Culture."

A film of the funeral of Lenin, not shown in the USSR for 60 years, was shown on Soviet television; the film shows Bucharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, and other comrades of the deceased creator of the Soviet state.

Citizens of the GDR going to Czechoslovakia now can exchange only 40 marks a day and the maximum stay is 11 days. This may reduce the amount of tourism. In 1986, 6.5 million people from the GDR visited Czechoslovakia.

Seven individuals were sentenced to imprisonment from 6 months to a year "in conjunction with attempts to provoke disturbances during the manifestations in honor of R. Luxembourg and K. Liebknecht. From the commentary of H. Kamnitzer in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: "The funeral ceremony in honor of the martyrs of the communist party was to be desecrated by hooligans. . . . No church could agree to the desecration of a procession in honor of a Catholic cardinal or Protestant bishop." Western press agencies claim that those sentenced belonged to the illegal "Initiative for Peace and Human Rights."

The Agerpress Agency denied reports by Western press agencies that the remodeling of the center of Bucharest was to include the demolition of the Orthodox cathedral.

Milan Kundera exchanged the favor of the domestic readers for success in the "wider" literary world writes the Prague journal TVORBA and sharply criticizes his best-seller "The Unbearable Lightness of Being." "Czechoslovakia in Kundera's book is a country without its own personality and without a future, anonymous, without an identity. The licentious erotic scenes and pseudo-philosophical comments serve this poetic picture, liberally embellished with vulgar expressions. All this makes the work kitch. . . ."

The International Investment Bank in Moscow confirmed a convertible currency credit of \$31 million for Cuba for the purchase of equipment for a nuclear power plant in that country. Since 1972 Cuba has constantly restructured its debt to the USSR (unofficially around \$6 billion) and the CEMA countries. For the moment it has no obligations until 1990. It owes Western countries \$5.4 billion. During the last few days difficult negotiations have begun with the Paris Club on restructuring its obligations for the last two years.

In the GDR the outstanding physicist Klaus Fuchs died at 76. He was a member of the SED Central Committee. In the 1940's he worked at the Los Alamos center in the U.S.A.; he gave the Soviet Union intelligence information on the production of the atomic bomb. Uncovered in 1949, he was sentenced to 14 years in prison. Released in 1956 he settled in the GDR. Until retirement he headed the atomic research center near Dresden.

#### Opinions

Artur Howzan, chairman of the Central Executive Board of the Association of Journalists of the PRL:

"We should have influence, and that clearly, definitely delineated, on the personnel policy in propaganda. We are naming a group of experts—I am thinking of a legal approach to the issue—that will attempt to establish the range of opportunities for the Association to influence the way editors-in-chief are named. We do not know yet whether we want simply to consult or whether we should consider whether when all of Poland has moved toward self-government, we should announce competitions for management positions. This could apply to, initially, a portion of the Czytelnik press. Accepting the current policy and the changes occurring in Poland, taking into consideration the decisive course of the political authorities toward self-government, we must take care not to become shortly an "island of naming" in a sea of self-government."

(From a speech at the second plenum of the Central Executive Board of the Association of Journalists of the PRL, PRASA POLSKA, no 1)

Stanislaw Rakowicz, former director of Kabel, Iskra, and Elana, today of the Foreign Enterprise Markit in Torun:

[Answer] Directors—whether anyone likes it or not—are a professional group that should organize. For a long time now, I have been promoting the view that—for example, within the Scientific Society for Organization and Administration—an association of management personnel which could draw on the experience of the journalists' organization should be formed. It would represent the interests of this professional group and fight for profession specialization, objective criteria of evaluation, a respectable wage scale, and certain social benefits.

The classic example in this area is the lack of any just regulation of retirements. One is seldom the director of an enterprise up to retirement, usually to an early death. One should receive a pension after working, for example, 15 years as a director, with a level of income equivalent to one's current earnings as a director, and not according to the wages received for one's last, frequently lowly, position."

(Interviewed by Janusz Ostaszewski ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, 20-27 December 1987)

(The opinions and views cited in this section are not always in agreement with the views of the editors.)

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**Party Activities Calendar 1-14 February 1988**  
26000245a Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish  
No 4, 24 Feb 88 p 21

[Unattributed article: "Party Chronicle: 1-14 February 1988"]

[Text]

#### Sessions of the Central Committee Politburo

##### 2 Feb

— The Politburo assessed the socioeconomic situation, with special consideration of projects associated with the introduction of the second stage of the economic reform.

##### 9 Feb

— The Politburo discussed and accepted specific measures on the reforms of the economy and the state, including those ensuing from the decisions of the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

— The Politburo examined a report on the visit of Secretary General of the Czechoslovak CP Milos Jakes to Poland.



### Conferences and Meetings

#### 1 Feb

— At the seat of the ZASP [Union of Polish Actors] was held a meeting of the Union's leadership with Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski. Preparations for the next congress of performing artists were discussed.

#### 3 Feb

— First Central Committee Secretary Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski attended a report meeting of the Basic Party Organization at the Headquarters of 1 Warsaw Tadeusz Kosciuszko Mechanized Division, to which he belongs.

#### 4 Feb

— In the Central Committee Building was held a session of the National Assembly of Party Writers attended by Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski.

#### 5 Feb

— Problems of political culture were the subject of a meeting between First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the National Cultural Council Professor Bogdan Suchodolski as well as cultural policy leaders, Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski, Director of the Culture Department of the PZPR Central Committee Tadeusz Sawic, and Minister of Culture and Art Professor Aleksander Krawczuk.

#### 9 Feb

— In Warsaw was held a seminar of first secretaries of plant and basic party organizations from large enterprises as well as of directors of economics departments of voivodship party committees, on the topic of the implementation program for the second stage of the economic reform. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak met with the seminar participants.

#### 10 Feb

— The Commission for Youth, Physical Culture, and Tourism under the Central Committee considered the organizational and program premises for working with capable and pacesetter youth within the framework of "The Vanguard of the 21st Century." The deliberations were chaired by Commission Vice Chairman Jan Olszewski.

#### 10-11 Feb

— Under the chairmanship of Director of the Agriculture Department of the PZPR Central Committee Kazimierz Grzesiak, in Warsaw was held a seminar of directors of the agriculture departments of voivodship party committees on the topic of implementing the premises of the second stage of the economic reform in agriculture and farming.

#### 12 Feb

— First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski attended a meeting of the Branch Party Organization at the Power Shovel Assembly Department of the Ludwik Warynski Construction Machinery Plants.

— The tasks and development directions of the Polish Academy of Sciences were the subject of a session of the Academy's Science Secretariat. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

#### 13 Feb

— A meeting was held between the heads of the Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress Department of the PZPR Central Committee and the heads of the Ministry of National Education. The implementation of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and the 24th Central Committee Plenum was discussed. The meeting was attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, Central Committee Department Director Boguslaw Kedzia, and Minister Henryk Bednarski.

— A PZPR program-and-elections conference at the Ministry of Industry was attended by Alternate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz.

### At Party Echelons and Organizations

#### 5 Feb

— In Katowice deliberated a voivodship reports-elections conference of trade unions. It was attended by Politburo Member and OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz and Alternate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee Manfred Gorywoda.

— The Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed tasks of the voivodship party organization in implementing the socioeconomic plan under the second stage of the economic reform. Its deliberations were attended by Director of Personnel Policy Department of the PZPR Central Committee Jerzy Swiderski.

6 Feb

— The Torun Voivodship PZPR Committee devoted its deliberations to effectively blazing the road for technological and organizational progress in the voivodship's economy.

8 Feb

— The Lenin Iron and Steel Plant was toured by Politburo Member and OPZZ Alfred Miodowicz. A. Miodowicz met with the party aktiv and attended a report meeting of the plant party organization.

#### Interparty Cooperation

Poland was visited by a delegation of the Central Committee of the Romanian CP headed by First Deputy Director of its Foreign Department N. Mihai. Its talks with Director of the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee Ernest Kucza resulted in the acceptance of a plan for interparty cooperation during 1988-1989. The delegation was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

Poland was visited by a delegation of the Belgian CP consisting of the members of its Politburo Jan Debruyere and Marcel Levaux. The delegation held talks with Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak, and Director of the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee Ernest Kucza.

8 Feb

— At the invitation of First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski a working visit to Poland was paid by Secretary General of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee Milos Jakes. The results of the talks between the two leaders were published in a press communique.

30 Jan-8 Feb

— Poland was visited by a delegation from KYL-LODZA, the journal of theory published by the Central Committee of the Korean Labor Party, headed by Deputy Editor-in-Chief Li Chon Man. The delegation was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyzk.

10 Feb

— During his official visit to the USSR, Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski was received by Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

11 Feb

— First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received a delegation of the West German Social-Democratic Party headed by Vice Chairman of the SPD Caucus of Bundestag Deputies Professor Horst Ehmke.

— A 3-day visit to Poland was ended by Member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and Director of that Committee's Foreign Department Geza Kotai. His talks with Director of the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee resulted in the acceptance of a plan for cooperation between the PZPR and the HSWP for the years 1988-1989. The visitor was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

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#### Resolution of Council of Ministers, Government Presidium Operations

26000262 Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish  
No 38, 31 Dec 87, item 131, pp 520-524

[Resolution No 160 of the Council of Ministers dated 23 Nov 1987 on Rules and Procedures Governing the Activities of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium]

[Text] With the object of assuring a proper organization of labor of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium, including a proper preparation of drafts of normative legal acts and other government documents, the Council of Ministers resolves as follows:

#### Chapter 1. General Provisions

##### Paragraph 1

1. The Council of Ministers considers in a body, in accordance with its competences, matters of major importance to the state and to discrete domains of socioeconomic life, and takes suitable decisions.

2. The Council of Ministers passes normative legal acts within the scope and pursuant to the principles defined in separate regulations.

3. The Government Presidium, in initiating work on the directions of the country's socioeconomic development and watching over their implementation, takes decisions and issues implementing regulations recorded in the minutes of the decisions taken at its sessions.

##### Paragraph 2

1. The Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium operate on the basis of plans of work of the Government, including programs for legislative work.

2. The plans of work of the Government are determined on the basis of resolutions of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, political guidelines, proposals by members of the Council of Ministers, recommendations by directors of national agencies and province governors, and recommendations by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

3. Draft plans of work of the Government, prepared by the Office of the Council of Ministers, are presented by the Government Presidium to the Council of Ministers.

4. The Government Presidium exercises continuing control over the implementation of plans of work of the Government and the decisions contained in the minutes of the decisions taken at sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium.

## Chapter 2. Preparation and Coordination of Draft Government Documents

### Paragraph 3

1. Drafts of normative legal acts, problem analyses, assessments of implementation of tasks, and reports and other documents, hereinafter referred to as "government documents," are prepared by members of the Council of Ministers, directors of national agencies, and province governors, hereinafter referred to as "bodies," within the scope of their corresponding competences, agreed upon, and submitted for consideration by the Council of Ministers or the Government Presidium.

2. The preparation of a draft government document may be entrusted to a permanent advisory-consultative council under the Council of Ministers or the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, or to a taskforce of experts in the field concerned.

3. The preparation of a draft government document may be preceded by formulating the premises defining the basic principles of the proposed solution.

4. Draft government documents on matters belonging within the competences of more than one body are worked out jointly by the concerned bodies.

5. A government document is prepared in the proper form depending on its nature and complemented, insofar as possible, with a plan (schedule) for implementing its provisions.

### Paragraph 4

1. The draft of a normative legal act includes a justification that comprises:

1) explanation of the need for and purpose of promulgating the normative legal act and presentation of the existing situation in the domain to be regulated by that act;

2) demonstration of differences between current and draft legal status and a description of anticipated social, economic, financial, and also legal consequences;

3) description of the results of public consultation or public discussion and other information on presented variants and opinions, in particular if the obligation of conducting the consultation or procuring opinions ensues from legal provisions.

2. If the draft normative legal act provides for issuing implementing regulations, drafts of these regulations should be appended.

3. The principles drafting legal acts are determined by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

### Paragraph 5

1. Government documents and their assumptions may be, prior to their official consideration, presented for public or other consultation in cases in which this obligation does not ensue from specific regulations, to the extent and by the procedure defined in the provisions of this Resolution.

2. If the obligation of consulting the public or experts ensues from specific regulations by virtue of the subject matter or nature of the government document, a report on the extent to which the results of that consultation were considered should be submitted.

### Paragraph 6

1. Prior to the official consideration of government documents by the Council of Ministers or the Government Presidium, the recommending body coordinates their text with the concerned members of the Council of Ministers.

2. The coordinating procedure, especially in cases of a formal-legal nature, should extend to the Office of the Council of Ministers.

3. The coordinating procedure may also extend to other state bodies, especially: the Chancellery of the Sejm, the Chancellery of the Council of State, the Supreme Chamber of Control, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Administrative Court, State Economic Arbitration, the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland, the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences, national agencies, and province governors, if the obligation of coordinating a government document does not ensue from separate regulations, and if these bodies happen to be directly concerned by the nature of the document.

4. The coordination of government documents should include consulting the directly concerned political, social, or occupational-professional organizations.

5. The Legislative Council under the Chairman of the Council of Ministers evaluates draft decrees or the assumptions of draft decrees either upon the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers or the body submitting the draft for consideration by the Council of Ministers or upon its own initiative, on following the principles and the procedure specified in separate regulations.

6. The nature of the drafts of normative legal acts that are of major social importance should be communicated to the society by means of the mass media.

#### Paragraph 7

1. The bodies to which a draft government document is addressed are under the obligation of taking a position on it in writing within a specified period of time, on either providing comments or stating that there are no comments.

2. Comments and opinions should in particular apply to the expediency of issuing a government document and the nature and forms of the proposed solutions and recommendations, and they should be worded concisely and include a rationale.

3. The time limit within which a position should be taken on a draft government document is specified by the body coordinating that document, on allowing for the nature and subject matter of the document and for the urgency of the matter; that time limit should not, in principle, be shorter than 14 days or longer than 30 days.

#### Paragraph 8

Discrepancies that arise while coordinating the wording of a government document should be cleared up by the competent body in the course of the coordination conferences it organizes. After a coordination conference is over, a new version of the government document is drafted, along with, as the need arises, a record of the discrepancies.

#### Paragraph 9

1. Following their coordination but before being submitted for consideration by the Council of Ministers, the drafts of legal acts are examined from the legal and editorial standpoint by the Law Commission at the Office of the Council of Ministers, hereinafter referred to as the "Commission." The body which prepared the draft submits the proposal for its consideration by the Commission.

2. The Minister-Chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers, or the head of a department at that Office whom he authorizes, may:

1) upon his own initiative or upon the proposal of the body submitting the draft legal act, exempt the Commission from the obligation of examining said draft;

2) refuse passing on to the Commission a draft document if it is not prepared in accordance with the rules specified in decree provisions and other legal provisions.

3. If the draft of a normative legal act provides for the duty of issuing implementing regulations, the Commission examines that draft together with the draft implementing regulations.

#### Paragraph 10

1. The Commission examines and evaluates the draft legal act from the standpoint of its consonance with the binding system of law, the correctness and overall coherence of its provisions, the need to rescind or preserve previous regulations, and consonance with legislative rules and linguistic accuracy.

2. The Commission's activities are intended to verify the wording of draft legal acts from the legal and editorial standpoints.

#### Paragraph 11

1. The members of the Commission are appointed and recalled by the Minister-Chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

2. The specific operating principles and procedure of the Commission are determined by the Minister-Chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

#### Chapter 3. Submission of Government Documents for Consideration by the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium

#### Paragraph 12

1. The government document is, together with a record of previous discrepancies and the results of public consultation or a report on expert opinions and recommendations, submitted by the competent body for consideration to the Council of Ministers or the Government Presidium through the mediation of the Office of the Council of Ministers by a procedure specified by the Minister-Chief of the Council of Ministers.

2. The Office of the Council of Ministers may return the government document if it does not meet specified requirements.

3. The Office of the Council of Ministers keeps a record of the government documents submitted for consideration to the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium or addressed to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.



Paragraph 13

1. The Office of the Council of Ministers transmits copies of the submitted government documents to the participants in the session of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium within a time limit not shorter than 7 days prior to the date of the session.

2. In particularly justified cases the government document may be, upon the approval of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, submitted for consideration within a time limit shorter than that mentioned above.

Paragraph 14

1. To properly prepare cases submitted for consideration by the Council of Ministers or the Government Presidium, as well as to elucidate any discrepancies, preparatory conferences may be organized at the Office of the Council of Ministers. Taking part in these conferences are representatives of the proposer and of the concerned bodies as well as, when the need arises, invited representatives of political, social, or professional organizations. The conferences are chaired by a member of the leadership of the Office of the Council of Ministers when so authorized by the Minister-Chief of that Office.

2. During the preparatory conference the readiness of the document is considered. The recommendations and decisions adopted during the conference should be, pursuant to the procedure prescribed in Paragraph 12, Paragraph 1, submitted by the recommending body in the form of corrections to the government document.

3. The chairman of the preparatory conference notifies the chairman of the Council of Ministers about its results.

4. Draft statutes, statutory decrees, ordinances, and resolutions of the Council of Ministers, as well as draft ordinances and orders of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, are submitted by ministers upon editing by the Legal Commission at the Office of the Council of Ministers.

**Chapter 4. Consideration of Cases by the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium**

Paragraph 15

1. The concerned bodies submit the following kinds of drafts for consideration by the Council of Ministers:

1) draft statutes presented to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic or drafts of statutory decrees, submitted to the Council of State at the initiative of the Government;

2) draft government documents submitted to the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Sejm pursuant to special regulations;

3) draft ordinances and resolutions of the Council of Ministers that are in the nature of implementing regulations relative to statutes and statutory decrees;

4) draft resolutions of the Council of Ministers on the principal problems concerning the state and the national economy;

5) draft position papers of the Government concerning draft statutes and statutory decrees submitted on the initiative of non-Government proposers;

6) draft plans of work of the Government and government programs;

7) drafts of other government documents, in particular those containing concepts of institutional solutions and principles of the state's policy on discrete domains of socioeconomic life.

2. The Council of Ministers moreover considers matters presented by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Paragraph 16

1. In particular, the concerned bodies submit for consideration by the Government Presidium the following matters:

1) assumptions of draft normative legal acts;

2) problem-oriented reports and analyses;

3) assessments of the implementation of tasks and decisions specified in the corresponding minutes of sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium, as well as draft post-audit recommendations;

4) recommendations by members of the Council of Ministers and heads of national agencies for taking operative decisions on matters of basic importance to the state and the national economy.

2. The Government Presidium considers moreover other matters presented to it by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers or submitted by members of the Government Presidium, with the proviso that the provisions of Paragraphs 12 and 13 apply thereto.

3. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers decides which government documents not legally requiring consideration by the Council of Ministers can be transmitted directly to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic or to the supreme political authorities or for consideration by the Government Presidium.

Paragraph 17

1. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers or, in his behalf, the Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, to whom is submitted a government document which does



not legally require consideration by the Council of Ministers or the Government Presidium, may decide on the matter if it is within his competence as specified in the provisions governing the division of labor within the Government Presidium.

2. The concerned parties will be notified about decisions taken on matters referred to in Part 1.

Paragraph 18

1. The sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium are convened and their agendas approved by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.
2. The Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium hold sessions on fixed dates based on the Government's plan of work. Notices of the session, including the agenda, are sent by the Office of the Council of Ministers to participants in the session within a period of time enabling them to prepare themselves to take part in the deliberations; that period of time should not be less than 5 days prior to the date of the session.

3. Sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium are held at least twice a month.

Paragraph 19

1. Sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium are chaired by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers or by a Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers whom he designates.
2. The presence of members of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium at the sessions is mandatory. If absence is planned, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers should be notified of it prior to the session; in the absence of a member of the Council of Ministers his permanent representative may attend the session.
3. Sessions of the Council of Ministers are attended by: the Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic, the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland, and the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences.
4. Sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium may be attended by invited representatives of political, social, and occupational-professional organizations as well as of cooperatives, and also by heads of national agencies and by province governors.
5. Sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium may be attended by other persons, invited as the need arises to take part in the entire session or in a part thereof.

Paragraph 20

1. The Council of Ministers or the Government Presidium accept government documents and take decisions when there is a quorum of at least one-half of the membership, by a majority of votes in open balloting. In the event of a tie, it is resolved by the chair. The Council of Ministers or the Government Presidium may opt for secret balloting.

2. The government documents accepted by the Council of Ministers or the Government Presidium are signed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers or by an authorized Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Paragraph 21

1. Sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium are of confidential nature. The chair may order that an entire session or a part thereof be kept secret.
2. A record of the decisions taken during the session is prepared along with minutes of the session, upon adhering to the regulations governing the protection of state and service secrets.
3. Copies of the record of the decisions shall be, after they are signed by the chair, distributed within 7 days after the session to regular session participants, concerned state bodies, and, as the need arises, the heads of the organizations and institutions which these decisions concern. Minutes of the session may be made entirely or partially accessible to concerned session participants.
4. The Office of the Council of Ministers monitors the implementation of the decisions specified in aforesaid record; the bodies expected to implement these decisions are to submit periodic reports on that implementation.

Chapter 5. Consideration of Matters by Consultative and Advisory Bodies

Paragraph 22

1. On matters within their competences, consultative and advisory bodies of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium shall examine the government documents presented for their consideration and express their opinions.
2. In particular, the following matters may be presented for consideration by consultative and advisory bodies: draft assumptions of government documents, including normative acts, problem-oriented reports and analyses, assessments of the implementation of tasks, and draft post-audit recommendations.
3. The scope of competences and operating procedure of consultative and advisory bodies are defined by separate regulations.

**Chapter 6. Recording and Promulgation of Normative Legal Acts**

**Paragraph 23**

1. The procedure for promulgating normative legal acts is governed by separate regulations, with the proviso that the resolutions of the Council of Ministers and the ordinances of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as of ministers, relating to the implementation of the rights and duties of citizens, are subject to being published in *DZIENNIK URZEDOWY POLSKIEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ LUDOWEJ* "MONITOR POLSKI."

2. To promulgate an ordinance or an order by a minister in *DZIENNIK USTAW POLSKIEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ LUDOWEJ* or in *DZIENNIK URZEDOWY POLSKIEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ LUDOWEJ* "MONITOR POLSKI," the concerned minister transmits to the Office of the Council of Ministers a signed original of that act together with two copies impressed with the seal of the ministry. These requirements also apply when an ordinance or order is issued jointly with other minister(s).

3. The minister transmits to the Office of the Council of Ministers two copies of the official journal of his ministry.

**Paragraph 24**

1. Records of the normative legal acts issued by the Council of Ministers and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers are kept by the Office of the Council of Ministers in accordance with rules defined by the Minister-Chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

2. Records of normative legal acts issued by supreme and national bodies of state administration are subject to being entered in the registry of ministerial regulations kept by the Minister of Justice.

3. For purposes of such registration, the supreme and national bodies of state administration transmit to the Minister of Justice within a period of 14 days any normative legal act they issue together with its rationale.

4. The provisions of Parts 2 and 3 above do not apply to the normative legal acts which:

1) are referred to in Part 1;

2) are subject to publication in *DZIENNIK USTAW POLSKIEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ LUDOWEJ* or in *DZIENNIK URZEDOWY POLSKIEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ LUDOWEJ* "MONITOR POLSKI";

3) are issued by the Ministers of National Defense and Internal Affairs, unless the normative act concerns local bodies of state administration or other bodies or organizational units that are not subordinated to these ministers;

4) concern national defense and national security or are of a secret nature.

5. The ministers of National Defense and National Security keep records of the normative legal acts they issue.

**Paragraph 25**

1. The Minister of Justice shall refuse to register a normative legal act transmitted to the registry of ministerial regulations if said act conflicts with a higher-ranking legal act or otherwise violates the existing system or law or was issued in violation of formal requirements.

2. The Minister of Justice shall notify the appropriate supreme or national agency of state administration of his refusal to register the normative legal act. The notice of refusal to register should include a rationale as well as recommendations for eliminating specified shortcomings.

3. The supreme or national agency of state administration which receives the notice of refusal to register a normative legal act is dutybound to consider the recommendations of the Minister of Justice within 14 days. In the event of failure to consider the recommendations, the matter is submitted to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who takes the final decision.

4. The Minister of Justice shall specify the principles and procedure for keeping a registry of ministerial regulations.

**Paragraph 26**

1. The Taskforce for Refining Ministerial Regulations operates as a consultative and advisory body under the Minister of Justice.

2. The Minister of Justice specifies the tasks and operating procedure of the Taskforce and appoints its members and chairperson.

**Paragraph 27**

The Minister of Justice each year presents to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers a report on and an assessment of the legal acts recorded in the registry of ministerial regulations.

## Chapter 7. End Provisions

### Paragraph 28

1. The organizational and legal support services to the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium are provided by the Office of the Council of Ministers.

2. The Minister-Chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers appoints the administrators who supervise the provision of organizational and legal support services to the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium.

3. The specific functions and structure of the departments of the Office of the Council of Ministers providing support services to the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium, and in particular organizational and legal services, are defined by the statute of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

### Paragraph 29

1. The provisions of this Resolution, except the provisions of Chapter 3, apply correspondingly to the procedure for drafting and coordinating normative legal acts by ministers and heads of national agencies.

2. The preparation and coordination of draft normative legal acts concerning international (state, government, ministerial) agreements are governed by separate regulations.

### Paragraph 30

The provisions of this Resolution pertaining to ministers and province governors apply correspondingly to heads of national agencies and mayors of the cities of Warsaw, Krakow, and Lodz.

### Paragraph 31

1. Resolution No 93 of 2 August 1983 of the Council of Ministers Concerning the Operating Procedures of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium and the procedure for drafting, coordinating, and promulgating normative legal acts (MONITOR POLSKI, Item 152, No 27) is hereby

2. To the extent specified in this Resolution, Resolution No 113 of 30 June 1969 of the Council of Ministers Concerning the Operating Procedures of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium (MONITOR POLSKI, Item 223, No 30, 1969; Item 247, No 38, 1971; and Item 152, No 27, 1983) is hereby voided.

### Paragraph 32

This Resolution becomes effective on the day of its publication.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers: Z. Messner

## PZPR Voivodship Plenums, Executive Committee Meetings Reported

### Nonparty Aktivs Invited

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Nov 87 p 4

[Report by Jan Urbanowicz: "Voivodship PZPR Committee Plenum in Slupsk: Party Responsibility for the Reform Program"]

[Text] Slupsk—"We must constantly remember that the reform program in Poland has its roots in the resolutions of the 9th and 10th Congresses of our party and that we are both politically and morally responsible for implementing it." This is the main thesis of the report of the executive committee of the Slupsk Voivodship PZPR Committee presented at the plenum of the party voivodship committee by Borys Drobnik, voivodship secretary.

Among the participants in the meeting were Zygmunt Czarzasty, first voivodship secretary, presiding, were Prof Boguslaw Kedzia (director of the Section for Science, Education, and Scientific and Technical Advancement of the Central Committee), Jan Broi (deputy minister of justice), and a group of non-party activists from the working and farming classes.

The atmosphere of social expectations associated with the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform and the approaching referendum was reflected in the brisk discussion. It focused around what are the fundamental questions for the entire party at present: how to modernize and increase the effectiveness of the basic party organizations, how to direct the work of the basic and voivodship organizations in order for the leading role of the party to become apparent in the daily life of the enterprises, institutions, and in the rural areas? The answers to these questions were sought by analyzing previous achievements and the observed shortcomings.

Jan Broi, deputy minister of justice, spoke about those regulations that contradict the principles of the second stage of the economic reform. He encouraged party organizations to present publicly the various anomalies in the regulations which will permit us to eliminate them more rapidly and effectively.

In the closing speech, First Voivodship Secretary Zygmunt Czarzasty referred to the political and moral responsibility weighing on all of the PZPR party organizations and members for the condition and course of the reform of our socio-economic and political life. (In the Slupsk Voivodship every eighth adult carries a party card.) We should be aware of this responsibility both on 29 November and during the implementation of the principles of the second stage of the economic reform.



### Proexport Economic Thinking Favored

26000164 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish  
28-29 Nov 87 pp 1, 3

Unattributed report: "Bydgoszcz PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum: Exports the Road to Development"]

[Text] Without significant exports, it is impossible to develop any economy. Thus, the Polish economy of the 1990's must be export oriented. This maxim was the center of the plenary session of the Bydgoszcz PZPR Voivodship Committee, which at its meetings yesterday formulated the tasks for party organizations in intensifying the exports by the Bydgoszcz Voivodship.

First Voivodship Secretary Zenon Zmudzinski presided over the meetings. In opening the discussions Zmudzinski emphasized the significant production capacity in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship, which should be more broadly harnessed to exports. This action will make possible more rapid development of the economy, provide access to modern technology, machinery, and equipment, and allow greater imports of materials in short supply. It will also force enterprises to increase the effectiveness of the work methods.

Among the participants in the meeting were Wladyslaw Gwiazda (minister for foreign economic cooperation), Edward Kuczera (deputy director of the Economics Section of the Central Committee), Jerzy Szopa (deputy chairman of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade), and the directors of a number of foreign trade enterprises. The directors and secretaries of a number of party organizations from the many exporting plants were also invited to participate.

Ignacy Iwancz, a secretary of the voivodship committee, delivered the report that opened the discussion. He pointed to the resolution of the third plenum of the PZPR Central Committee requiring all units of the economy and the entire management system to force an export-oriented approach. This effort is one of the prerequisites for changes in quality and is essential to solving the basic problems in the development of the country. The task of the Bydgoszcz voivodship party organization, the speaker emphasized, is systematically to implement this resolution to the fullest.

The significant increase in the turnover in foreign trade noted in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship recently, it was stated, does not indicate general social support for the needs of exports. Increased export production frequently results from the system of economic incentive introduced. As much as 41 percent of the tax reliefs for plants in the voivodship were granted for exports. But the structure of goods exported and the profitability leave much to be desired. The goods shipped to foreign markets are largely (30 percent) products of the agriculture and food industries. Progress in exports in the electro-machinery industry, however, is too slow.

The Eltra Radio Plants, The Bydgoszcz Furniture Factory, the Romet Bicycle Factory, and the Telkom-Teiffa Tele-electronics Plants boast significant achievements in the development of exports in recent years. The Bydgoszcz Tool Factory, the Naklo Spomasz Automatic Lathe Factory, the Precyzja Labor Cooperative, and the Chicory Processing Plant in Wierchoslawice have made promising changes in the areas of organization and production favorable to an export orientation. Positive signs in this area usually derive from an increase in the level of economic education among the workforce, the appropriate selection of areas for developing the plant by the management personnel and the workers' self-government and are also a result of the political actions of the party executives and committees.

As a result of the quantitative and qualitative increase in foreign trade, the program for action for the voivodship party organization calls for an increase in export production from 16 percent of total production in the current year (including 12 percent to countries in the second payments area) to 20 percent (including 14 percent in the second payments area) in 1990. It is necessary to emphasize that systematic party action, encouragement, and various forms of work contributed to achieving a level of export performance in the first half of 1987 that was to be achieved only at the end of the year. Actions aimed at causing deeper changes in the structure of the voivodship's economy are needed to further increase exports and improve their results. It is also necessary to influence more forcefully the interest of the workforces in increasing export production through financial incentives.

The speaker next pointed to the announced far-reaching systemic changes in foreign trade. The plants, their management personnel, must be prepared to use new opportunities in export-oriented operations. The task of party organizations will be to support initiative in this area.

The party activists, representative of industry and the foreign trade agencies, who took up the discussion, referred to the theses of the report and the data in the supplementary materials given to the participants. Many participants announced concrete actions undertaken in plants to increase export production in the near future or the beginning of production of new, improved products. Edmund Nowaczyk spoke about such actions at Romet, which intends to export 380,000 bicycles next year. Production, however, is hampered by some producers forcing exports at all costs of screws and standardized machine parts which then must be imported for convertible currency. The problems of developing exports of the electro-machine industry were discussed by Czeslaw Hoppe, the director of Eltra. The future belongs to exporters of subcomponents. Thus they must be rapidly modernized. This requires the beginning of production of new materials by the metallurgy and chemical industries. Ludwik Olejarz, director of the Hortex Foreign Trade Agency, spoke about the missed opportunities in

agriculture and food processing industries. We need a denser network of modern storage facilities for Hortex's fruits and vegetables in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship. Frozen and processed vegetables and fruits bring significantly higher prices than fresh ones do on foreign markets. Tadeusz Meger of Zachem drew attention to the difficulties in using the convertible-currency retained-earnings funds. He also emphasized the quality of their cooperation with the Czech Foreign Trade Agency which, among other things, has opened up opportunities for receiving credits on favorable terms and is developing a plan for creating a transportation network for exporters of chemical products which will contribute to increasing the sales efficiency. Boleslaw Felczak of Inowroclaw Irena spoke about the transportation impediments (shortages of containers and trailers), insufficient convertible currency resources at the enterprises' disposal, and some of the rules for receiving credits. Antoni Gwitt of the Bydgoszcz Tool Factory spoke, among other things, about experience in the application of quality control systems and material incentives in enterprises that have produced demonstrated results. They are the awards Q and I which three-quarters of the products have received. Andrzej Skowronski presented efforts undertaken to intensify exports by the Elektrim Foreign Trade Agency; Jerry Nowak discussed those made by the Pomeranian office of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade.

Andrzej Bednarek, Henryk Bakowski, Antoni Budzynski, Edward Piwonski, Wladyslaw Siwak, and Ryszard Gaczorek also spoke.

Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda, who emphasized the economic significance of the topic, commented on some of the statements. "In the social consciousness," he said among other things, "there is still a fairly dangerous thesis not supported by the facts that exports denude the market. Some of the people do not appreciate that exports force improvements in quality and efficiency, make possible purchases of modern machinery, technology, and goods, and as a result positively influence the state of market supplies. No economy can do without foreign trade. A state with a potential similar to ours exports 22 to 24 percent of its total production while we export only 13 to 14 percent. Our debts which are \$36 billion today, also require us to export, and it is estimated that they will continue to grow until 1991 or 1992. In order to interest producers in foreign sales of products (especially high value-added ones) reliefs will be retained. More favorable conditions for turnover between producers are being created in order that some do not have to import for convertible currency what others sell."

At the close of the plenum a resolution was adopted detailing the tasks of the party organizations aimed at developing exports.

During the intermission between sessions there were meetings of the representatives of the foreign trade agencies with the producers to discuss ways of increasing cooperation.

**Industrial Modernization Required**  
26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
18 Dec 87 p 5

[Report by Czeslaw Kubasik: "Legnica PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Following up on the resolutions of the 10th congress and the third plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, on 17 December 1987 the voivodship party organization in Legnica discussed problems of scientific and technical advancement in the regional economy.

The executive committee's report presented by Krzysztof Jeza, secretary of the voivodship central committee and the discussion afterwards attempted to answer the question: What is the state of technology in the basic branches of the voivodship's economy, how are the modern areas, in particular electronics and automatics, developing, and how are new technologies and equipment put into use?

During the intermission between sessions, I asked P. Witkowski, first secretary of the factory committee and R. Lorenc, chairman of the factory Club for Technology and Rationalization, of the Legnica Steelworks about the reaction to the critical evaluation in the executive committee's report presented at the plenum of the outmoded technology used at the steelworks?

"We will not build a new steelworks, but we are systematically modernizing the old one. We have opened a new sulfuric acid plant, we are burning waste gases, we are building a sewage treatment facility, we have reclaimed 1,100 hectares of the so-called protective zone around the works, of which 400 hectares will be reforested. The majority of the action for which we have earmarked 30 percent of the profits are aimed at protecting the environment. And this in accord with the social need is our most important area for action," said P. Witkowski.

"We have implemented a cost-saving plan which will enable us to reduce the use of coke by 50 percent and achieved an annual savings of 360 million zloty as a result. This year alone our plant rationalizers, who are among the best in the voivodship, will save the works 500 million zloty by applying inventions," R. Lorenc added.

In its resolution, the Voivodship Committee recognized that it is essential to accelerate the pace of technical advancement as one of the basic elements for transforming the economy. It has ordered the voivod of Legnica to prepare a program for developing technical advancement in the voivodship's economy within particular branches and industries regardless of their organizational position.

Henryk Nowak, first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee, presided over the meetings.



### Fallow Land Inefficiency Noted

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
19-20 Dec 87 p 9

[Report by Witold Grabos: "Chelm: Who Will Farm the Unwanted Land?"]

[Text] In spite of the fact that since 1975 agriculture in the Chelm Voivodship has seen the number of tractors triple and the number of wheat combines increase six-fold, as regards the supply of equipment we occupy last place in Poland. Only 53 percent of the need for land improvement has been satisfied, many villages are waiting for land recultivation and agglomeration, water systems, roads, stores, and schools. Although for several years 50 percent of the local budget has been devoted to agriculture, it is still underinvested. Moreover, for this reason, there is a large amount of so-called unwanted lands in the Chelm Voivodship. This problem dominated during the plenum of the PZPR voivodship committee in Chelm on 18 December 1987.

The State Land Fund holds more than 35,000 hectares of land. The agriculture census last year showed that every third owner of a farm in Chelm Voivodship is over 60 years old, among them 7,000 individuals are over 65 years old. By 1995 11,000 farmers of about 56,000 hectares will retire. We already know that earlier decisions on the use of land will not solve this problem. The settlement program will also produce slight results.

The members of the voivodship committee supported the need for new decisions allowing more effective solutions of the problems of land use. They called for allowing retirees to use the land without losing their pensions from the Social Security Agency under certain conditions, creating greater preferences for young farmers beginning farming or expanding their farms in the regions where there is unwanted land, and the use of tax reliefs that can increase the profitability of production.

Stefan Lyczak, first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee, presided over the plenum and Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, participated in the meetings.

### Fewer Workers Join PZPR Ranks

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
19-20 Dec 87 p 9

[Report by Ryszard Wolak: "Lublin: No Taboo Subjects"]

[Text] One cannot say that all party units are active and effectively participate in solving the problems of the groups within which they operate. How this situation can be changed for the better was discussed on 18 December 1987 at the joint plenum of the PZPR voivodship committee and the WKKR in Lublin. The wide-ranging discussion was preceded by an introduction by Andrzej Szpringer, first secretary of the voivodship committee.

Many of the discussants emphasized that the rate of the influx of workers into the party is weak, as is particularly evident in the construction and municipal-service enterprises as well as in other plants. At the Lublin institutions of higher education, which employ nearly 7,500 individuals and have nearly 16,000 students, there were barely 21 candidates accepted into the party, including 15 students. In eight gminas not one farmer was accepted into the party during the last period.

Attention was drawn to the importance of party meetings, which should more frequently be open in character. There can be no taboo subjects for party forums.

During the discussion it was pointed out that many organizations come to life only during important political campaigns and usually the same few individuals are active; the others merely assist. In this connection it was also mentioned that insufficient attention is paid to individual party tasks, to precise formulation of resolutions.

In the resolution adopted there were recommendations whose realization is to contribute to increasing the independence and initiative of organizations, to their greater activeness in day-to-day operations.

### Party Propaganda Style Criticized

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
19-20 Dec 87 p 9

[Report by Ewa Jasinska: "Plock: Greater Frankness"]

[Text] The ideological and propaganda tasks of the voivodship party organization in the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform were the subject of Friday's meeting of the party voivodship committee in Plock.

During the deliberations, both in the report by Stanislaw Przedlacki, secretary of the voivodship committee, and in the many comments during the discussion, criticism of the present propaganda style was apparent; it has failed to keep pace with the changes occurring.

"The truth is," said Jerzy Gawronski, a lecturer of the voivodship committee, "that we have made many mistakes in our propaganda work. The basic ones were attempts to create a high degree of awareness unrelated to issues of daily existence. Now we are trying to catch up. But first we must prepare the party members by training them ideologically, which has been greatly limited in recent years. They must be able to answer the current pressing questions. For example, what range of changes in the economy can we make without affecting the principles of socialism?"

The issue of information and frank exchanges of views occupied an important place during the discussion at the plenum. The practice of different ways of behaving, official and unofficial, is still around. The lack of frankness, thus darkening the view of reality, can be observed also within party ranks.

Frank discussions that do not conceal the difficulties awaiting us during the second stage of the reform began during the civic meetings with nearly 120,000 voters prior to the referendum. The continuation of this dialogue is essential in order to secure the support of all of society for the program to transform the economy and thus the ability to implement it. The voivodship committee called for drawing on the opinions and judgments of the citizens in making political and economic decisions the fundamental task in the resolution it adopted.

#### **Propaganda, Lecturers Criticized**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
22 Dec 87 p 3

[Report by Alicja Zagorska: "Bialystok: To Liberate Thought From Stereotypes"]

[Text] The topic: "Ideological Activities of the Party A Factor in Overcoming Barriers To the Socio-Economic Development of the Voivodship" defined the preparations of the plenum for the voivodship committee. The complexity and range of the subject required the inclusion of the broadest range of party members in these deliberations. The participants at the plenum received materials from two conferences along with additional sociological surveys and proposals for resolutions before the plenum.

The question: What should the voivodship party organization do, and how, in order to meet the demands of the second stage of the reform?, was the catalyst for many discussants' comments. Strong dangers exist in the area of conservative attitudes. More than once activity reduces to torpedoing measures forcing increased efficiency and quality of work.

"If we want to shape social awareness," said Edward Grygo, of the Department of Socio-Political Sciences of the Bialystok Polytechnic, "then the party members must know about economic processes. The surveys show that their knowledge differs little from that of those not in the party."

Another result of the survey must also cause concern: Every other member of the party in the Bialystok Voivodship interviewed does not know the recommendations of the last voivodship conference or even of his town or gmina. Then what chance is there that these members will meet their statutory party tasks?

Many discussants with many years of experience as lecturers pointed to barriers that prevent previous training from meeting its tasks effectively. Empty-word mongering, cheap, naive propaganda still reigns. Helena Gnatowska shared her reflection that young people with outstanding political knowledge are not attracted to work as lecturers.

Witold Sopocho drew attention to the fact that if a lecturer in relating a problem takes a critical attitude to the realities in a plant, he will not ever be invited back. Sometimes, as Stanislaw Zabinska, a teacher at the Teachers' Program, said, the party organizations do not receive any help from lecturers when they ask for it.

Wladyslaw Matowicki noted with dissatisfaction that he had expected the discussion to provide more numerous effective methods and forms of party work.

But to a question put in this way the party members must give concrete answers in their party organizations, within their own groups.

Andrzej Cryz, director of the Ideology Section of the PZPR Central Committee participated in the deliberations; Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk, first secretary of the voivodship committee presided.

#### **Youth Disinterest Noted in Lodz**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
22 Dec 87 p 3

[Report by Jan Kraszewski: "Lodz: A Question Without an Answer"]

[Text] Will we take up the problems of youth systematically enough and with enough determination? In this regard, will the young people take on active, responsible participation and partnership in determining the fate of socialist Poland of an equal quality?

These two questions from the report presented by Stanislaw Zareba, chairman of the Youth Commission of the Lodz PZPR Voivodship Committee, formed the horizon of discussion. Its multifaceted nature showed the complexity of the problems which young people face and with them all of society.

Are the difficult living conditions exclusively to blame for the low degree of organization in socialist youth unions? At present barely 12 percent of those under 29 years of age are members (the national average— 24 percent). Only every third young worker is a member of the trade unions. In the Lodz party organization, they constitute less than 8 percent.

Are these statistics an objective measure of the activity of the younger generation?

One can pose many more questions like these. But during the discussion I heard no answers.

Bogdan Felczarek of the 1 May plant lamented young people's poor ideological preparation and also the fact that there are very few people to whom one can turn to correct this shortcoming. Ryszard Jablonski, however, sees a great opportunity for young people in the economic sphere. He claimed that there are still too many bureaucratic barriers inside and outside of the plants.

The odor of optimism wafted from the statement by Krzysztof Jagiello, chairman of the Lodz Executive Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, when he announced a period of stabilization within his organization and claimed that the organized 12-percent is not bad, for the activities undertaken are addressed to all young people.

But then why all the calls for the creation of opportunities for satisfying the ambitions and aspirations of young people? For free access to supervisory positions? Why all the limitations in the competitions for directorships, where the period of service prevents them from even applying? Why did Krzysztof Jurek, a council member and student of the Lodz University, report the small, constantly decreasing number of young council members?

These questions should be addressed to the youth organizations and to the party organizations.

Jozef Cryrek, member of the politburo and secretary of the central committee, after listening to the discussion, responded to some of the comments and said, among other things, that young people should not expect the state just to give but must take matters into their own hands. Help create the new, eliminate the bad, overcome barriers. The second stage of the reform places new tasks before young people and creates new opportunities. "Among other things, its success and final shape depends on you," the secretary said.

Jozef Niewiadomski, first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Voivodship Committee, presided over the meeting.

#### **Lomza Notes 'New Thinking'**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
22 Dec 87 p 3

[Report by Elzbieta Chaniewska: "Lomza: Implementation of the Resolutions of the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee"]

[Text] Lomza—The tasks of the voivodship party organization in implementing the sixth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, with special attention to the places of work, was the subject of the plenum of the Lomza Voivodship Committee on 21 December 1987. Among other things, it was claimed that a prerequisite for the full mobilization of social activeness and overcoming the barriers of indifference among some social groups is new thinking, both in the area of economics as well in social awareness. The success of the second stage of the reform

lies in, among other things, the general political culture of the producers of goods and their attitude toward the affairs of state and their factory. The first positive examples of new thinking are visible in agriculture in the Lomza Voivodship. Among other things, the organization of the sale of coal in the region that assigns farmers specific days for pick up and the establishment of the order of service by the Agricultural Circles' Cooperative not in order of application but in order of economic benefit deserve praise.

"In the opinion of the workers," Jan Bydolek of the Lomza Narew Cotton Industry Plants, said, "personnel problems are extremely important in implementing the second stage of the reform. Party organizations must begin to play a significant role. The frequent failure to implement adopted resolutions weakens their authority."

The participants in the plenum pointed to the need to increase the monitoring of the factory and enterprise party organizations and broader use of the recommendations from reviews of structures and certifications.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the issues discussed.

Andrzej Gdula, director of the Socio-Legal Section of the PZPR Central Committee, participated in the deliberations.

#### **Civic, Plant Aid to Schools Noted**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
22 Dec 87 p 3

[Report by Jozef Sadowski: "Siedlce: Education Needs Support"]

[Text] "Every fourth worker in education in the Siedlce Voivodship," said Klemens Ptach, director of the Vocational School Group No 1 in Garwolin, "belongs to the PZPR. This is a significant source of capital which is only partially used. The distribution of party forces is uneven geographically, or over types of educational and training facilities."

The subject of the plenum of the voivodship committee on 21 December 1987 was the evaluation of the implementation of the resolutions of the 24th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on the improvement and development of schools. Among the participants in the meeting were teachers, secretaries of the basic party organizations of educational and training facilities, representatives of the patron plants, and the youth organizations.

Andrzej Ornat, first secretary of the Siedlce PZPR Voivodship Committee, presided over the meeting. Boguslaw Kedzia, the director of the Section for Science,



Education, and Technical Advancement of the Central Committee, and Prof Henryk Bodnarski, member of the Central Committee and minister of National Education, were present.

In spite of the undoubted successes noted in recent years in education in the region, there remain many barriers hampering its development. The physical facilities are inadequate, crowding reigns in many schools, schooling is done in shifts. The shortage of personnel is sharp. By 1990 there will be a need for 2,395 teachers. In order to find them, housing (also in short supply) will be needed, as Maria Krajewska, deputy director of the Vocational School Group No 1 in Siedlce, among others noted.

Stefan Cerańek, chairman of the local unit of the Polish Teachers' Union in Siedlce, pointed to other tasks waiting for education in the Siedlce Voivodship. The most important of them are the appropriate provisions for vocational schools under the conditions of the second stage of the reform, improving the political knowledge of the teachers, organizing the management of the system, strengthening rearing and care functions of the schools, awakening the social activeness of the pupils, development of broad cooperation with the parents and community.

"Given education's limited financial resources," in the opinion of Julian Mikołajczyk of Pollena in Łaskarzew, "the help from factories is all the more important. Many of them are patrons of schools. The support could be much greater, but the regulations that allow funds given to schools to come only from profits prevent it. We should strive to permit funds for this purpose to come also from working capital."

The implementation of ideological education of children and young people, it was pointed out during the discussion, requires constant, intense creation of a uniform educational front. Unconventional forms, methods, and resources are essential.

#### Unplanned Plenum on Housing

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24-27 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Czesław Kubasik: "Wrocław PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum: Party Supervision of Construction"]

[Text] "We had not planned this plenum for this year. But performance of the goals set in housing construction for this year is proceeding with difficulty, and we do not know whether we will be able to complete the annual plan. Thus, we called for a plenum on 23 December 1987 devoted to the development of housing construction in Wrocław and the voivodship and to the intensification of general overhauls of the old housing resources in order to detail in both areas realistic tasks for the immediate future. We did this through extraordinary procedures. We are not interested in just another wall of tears for

construction or in throwing out new slogans but in recommendations that will allow systematic work and turning the planned buildings over for use," Zdzisław Balicki, first secretary of the voivodship committee, said opening the meeting.

"A radical improvement in the state of housing construction in our voivodship will require different attitudes and aggressive action from the PZPR members. We must eliminate the special and frequently speculative interests of the organizational units. Given this understanding of party involvement, we should expect that the very difficult problems of construction, especially, housing, will be solved in a preference order, meeting the most pressing needs of the people," said Marek Pajtan, member of the executive and chairman of the commission for special party supervision of the solution of the housing problem of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

The discussants attempted to answer the question: What actions must be undertaken and what changes must be made in order for us finally to have a chance of breaking out of the impasse in housing construction?

Also they considered whether the annual construction push in the final months of the year must be a permanent tradition. Can we believe that the quality of 1,651 apartments (among the 4,250 covered by the plan for the current year), which are to be handed over in December will be satisfactory? And finally will we succeed in the final four days of the year in handing over 1,029 apartments in 27 buildings?

In the adopted resolution basic party organizations were obligated to undertake party supervision of the implementation of dispersed construction and of overhauls and modernization in old housing resources. Party organizations in construction and cooperatives were obligated to initiate more decisively and effectively the essential actions to orchestrate construction plans, the bold use of new technologies, the rational use of raw materials, materials, fuels, and energy, and the necessary personnel changes.

#### Rural Self-Rule Growth

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
21 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Jan Rutkowski: "Bielsko-Biala: What Is Hampering Rural Self-Government"]

[Text] The evaluation of social, self-governmental, and political activities in rural areas was the subject of Saturday's plenum of the Bielsko-Biala PZPR Voivodship Committee. In the report the increasing prestige of self-government in the rural areas was emphasized, but it was noted that it depends largely on the appropriate cooperation of the local state administration with the self-governments and on the administration's proper performance of its statutory tasks and obligations.

Comments by Jadwiga Jachimowicz, chairman of the Sołecza Council in Babice in the gmina Oswiecim, illustrated these words. She spoke of the decision by default in October 1987 by the City National Council to incorporate the gmina Oswiecim into the city without asking for the opinion of the Gmina National Council, which was meeting at the same time in the same building, at a joint session of the city and gmina on plans for developing the gmina.

"Only after four years of constant efforts and interventions by the members of the Gmina National Council," Jachimowicz stated, "were shoulders built along a road where there were accidents involving pedestrians. It was finalized, however, only when we wrote a letter of complaint to the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control. People now say, 'We believe in Warsaw and not in the local authorities.' Is that how it should be?"

The plenum resolution emphasized that rural party organizations must give more effective help to the rural self-governments and integrate cooperation among the state administration, the national councils, and the self-governments. The path to this goal leads, among other ways, through the work of the newly created rural party groups.

Stanislaw Habczyk, first secretary of the Biełsko-Biala PZPR Voivodship Committee, presided over the plenum.

#### **Business-Academic Cooperation Viewed**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24-27 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Zbigniew Wrobel: "Gdansk: Science and Technology—Practice"]

[Text] Scientific and technical advancement and organizational improvement must become a universal form of individual and collective action—it is the main road for achieving genuine improvement in economic productivity along the Gdansk coast and meeting the needs of the people of the region, said the participants of the plenum of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee, which was held on 19 December 1987. Stanislaw Brzozowski, associate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee, presided over the meeting in which Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, participated.

Zbigniew Kordek, director of the Gdansk Repair Shipyards and chairman of the Social Committee of the Gdansk Polytechnic, although he holds the teaching and research of the Gdansk institution of science in high regard, noted that this developed intellectual potential of the coastal region is still not used properly.

He also presented the example of the Shipyards' search at over 100 research institutions in Poland for someone to contract for programs for the recently purchased ICL computer, a typical example of the difficulties in interesting scientific workers in practical cooperation with industry.

Prof Zdzislaw Brzozowski of the Medical Academy gave an indirect answer in noting that in the current situation of legal and financial limitations and given the bureaucratized system for disseminating technical innovations neither science nor the economy are greatly interested in genuine cooperation in scientific and technical innovation.

As an illustration he presented the process of implementing in industry, which has lasted for years now, of proven clinical research approved by the health ministry, of a diabetes drug developed by the Gdansk Medical Academy.

The discussants unanimously judged that the significant proportion of the proposals for cooperation of science with industry were included in the program to be implemented under the second stage of the economic reform.

Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, noted that, among other things, the development of science is a factor contributing to overcoming the crisis. In spite of the economic difficulties in 1990 for the first time 3 percent of the national income was earmarked for research work. As regards scientific and technical advancement, the party should become active.

The adopted plenum resolution outlined the tasks for industry and science in the Gdansk Voivodship for actions promoting the development of technology and modern, quality production.

#### **Civic-Enterprise Aid to Schools**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24-27 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Henryk Heller: "Help for Schools Is Not Philanthropy"]

[Text] "We take care of our own child at home and create a good life for him, but in his other home, at school, he encounters completely different conditions." In order to support this opinion of the low standards at schools, of the outfitting of the lecture rooms, Stanislaw Miodożeniec, inspector for education and instruction in the gmina Ładek recalled that education in the Komin Voivodship has 658 structures at its disposal of which 273 were built before World War II. The condition of the physical facilities of education throughout the entire voivodship is bad.



The problems of education, training, and instruction and the implementation of the tasks in these areas in light of the resolutions of the 24th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the program of the 10th PZPR Congress were the subject of the plenum of the Konin PZPR Voivodship Committee on 19 December 1987. The secretaries of the basic party organizations in the schools, the directors of the sections of the educational authorities, representative of the patron factories, a group of distinguished chairmen of parents' committees were also invited to the discussion. Lech Ciupa, first secretary of the Konin PZPR Voivodship Committee, presided over the meeting, in which Bogusław Kedzia, director of the Section for Science, Education, and Technical Advancement of the PZPR Central Committee, participated.

There is no lack of allies for the schools, nor of organizers and initiators of civic actions on behalf of education at the Konin lignite mine.

The funds gathered by the committees of the NCPS led to the construction in 1981-87 as part of civic actions of 86 rooms for instruction and 120 places in preschools, and now is aiding the construction or expansion of 35 educational facilities. But there was also a note of pessimism in the discussion; fears were expressed that everything could abruptly end. The demands of the second stage of the economic reform contain severe economic rigors.

I inquired of Janusz Kaluza, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee of the Production and Assembly Plant for Strip Mining Equipment sitting next to me:

"We gladly help schools, for example an institution like the vocational school group. We have invested in that school because we have a program to develop the factory and we are counting on the graduates of this school." These crucial tasks of education were given their appropriate place in the resolution adopted by the plenum at its conclusion.

#### Call To Expand Social Dialogue

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24-27 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Edward Filipczyk: "Opole: Broadening the Social Dialogue"]

[Text] "All of the members of the voivodship committee prepared this plenum. For the first time it was preceded by the prior publication in TRYBUNA OPOLSKA of the report introducing the discussion and by 14 district discussion meetings of the members of the committee and the party activists who contributed many proposals to our deliberations," stated Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the Opole PZPR Voivodship Committee. Józef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee participated in Saturday's meeting.

How can we endeavor to make party members leaders at work and in the community? How can we gain allies in the implementation of joint goals? How can we influence young people to draw them into vigorous action?

"The issue of awareness should become an integral part of the reform program. And we must replace word inflation, declarations, sloganeering with actions," emphasized Włodzisław Kosiński, editor-in-chief of TO and Józef Kordecki, first secretary of the city-gmina committee in Głogów. "Only agreement of words and deeds can eliminate society's distrust, flight into privacy, indifference. We should broaden the platform of social dialogue, reveal differences of opinion, discuss, and convince."

The participants listened intently to Józef Czyrek's comments; he alluded to comments and discussed the international and domestic prerequisites for the implementation of the reform and democratization program initiated by the party. "The period of relaxation and disarmament which we are entering is beneficial for Poland," he said. The central committee secretary made many comments on Polish-West German relations and recalled the provisions of the Polish-FRG agreement of 1970 which is still binding.

Among organizational matters, the plenum elected Marian Magdziarz, a member of the voivodship committee and currently first secretary of the Prudnik City-Gmina Committee, a member of the Executive and a secretary of the voivodship committee.

#### Party Must Deal With New Conditions

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
21 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Czesław Kubasik: "Walbrzych: We Seek the Success of the Reform in Civic Action"]

[Text] The tasks of the voivodship party organization in implementing the resolutions of the sixth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee were debated on 19 December 1987 during the plenary deliberations of the Walbrzych PZPR Voivodship Committee. Józef Nowak, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, presided.

The report of the executive committee presented by Zenon Cyktor, secretary of the Voivodship Committee, and the discussion attempted to answer the question: What role do the party offices and organizations play in accelerating the rate of transformation associated with the second stage of the economic reforms and democratization of social life? Using examples from actual cases in their communities, attention was drawn to the fact that party actions must be adapted to the new conditions and lead to more effective implementation of the leading, guiding, and serving role of the PZPR.

Before the deliberations, we spoke about these issues—expanding the efforts in the process of democratizing social life and engaging in the tasks resulting from the second stage of the economic reform—with the workers of the Karolina Table Porcelain Factory in Jaworzyna Slaska. Eugeniusz Prus of Karolina thinks that the workforce's attitudes, awareness, and understanding of the necessity for the changes are importantly significant for the actions to move forward and improve the management and production processes. Such undertakings as certification of jobs and evaluation of work gain support.

The plenum recommended party offices and organizations of the region to make detailed evaluations of the activity of the party members in the self-management, civic, and associative bodies.

#### POP Inactivity Decried

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
21 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Marek Badtke: "Wlodek: Where There Are Strong Organizations, the Reform Picks Up Momentum"]

[Text] The common denominator of the deliberations at the Wlodek PZPR Voivodship Committee's plenum on Saturday, which discussed ways of realizing the resolutions of the sixth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in the region, was a concern that the reform program initiated by the party take on greater impetus.

Can we, however, guarantee a rapid rate of effective change? There is constantly more in front of us, said Krzysztof Grzadzziel, first secretary of the Wlodek PZPR City Committee, Czeslaw Spibida, a farmer from Dobry, and Eugeniusz Wojtecki, a farmer from the gmina Lubanie. The party's influence is significant in the largest concentrations of workers in Wlodek, but the new housing developments are blank spots on the political map of the city. The fact that more than 40 percent of the new candidates accepted by the PZPR this year are workers is encouraging. The inactivity of many basic party organizations in mid-sized and small factories in the city is distressing.

It is significant, as the deliberations showed, that where the party organizations are strong the progress in implementing the economic reform is greatest, as comments by Wlodzimierz Slawkowski of Manometer, Bogumil Wolczak of Lakiery, and Ryszard Sobczak of Drumet, among others, showed. The organizations dictate the rate and define the degree of change. Poor economic performance by factories frequently correlates with a low level of party work.

Innovative forms of party work are today an opportunity to fulfill obligations flowing from the performance of planning, supervising, initiating, and personnel functions. The adopted resolution accords this requirement and defines the tasks of the voivodship party organizations in Wlodek Voivodship.

Edward Szymanski, director of the Bureau of Sejm Affairs of the PZPR Central Committee, participated in the deliberations.

#### Joint ZSL Plenum on Farm Production

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
21 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Feliks Walichnowski: "Olsztyn: An Equal Sign Among Sectors"]

[Text] The Olsztyn Voivodship can take pride in these harvests: the experimental fields produced 460 quintals of potatoes per hectare, Zygmunt Tomczyk of Galin harvested 91 quintals of winter wheat, and Tadeusz Tomczyk, 95 quintals of winter wheat. The Kiewki State Farm, however, harvested 110 quintals of winter wheat per hectare. The harvest in the region of wheat, rape, and leguminous crops for seed increased, but not everywhere.

"The level of agricultural production is quite varied from farmer to farmer and from state farm to state farm, working under the same soil and weather conditions with similar access to production resources," said Grzegorz Nowicki, among others.

This variation received much attention at the plenum of the Olsztyn PZPR Voivodship Committee. The average wheat harvest in the voivodship in 1987 was 23 quintals per hectare; wheat purchases were 275,000 tons; live weight meat purchases, 132,000 tons; milk purchases, 394,000 liters. Many farmers could have contributed to improved performance, it was said at the plenum, if their needs for production resources had been met and the working and living conditions in rural areas had been improved more. For example, more than 25 percent of the children in rural areas are still taken to school; the state farms lack housing.

Much attention was also given to cooperation between the different sectors in agriculture, which are working harmoniously with one another. But Jerry Strzerek, the rector of the Agricultural Technical Academy in Olsztyn, proposed that instruction be recognized more fully as a permanent part in the development of agriculture and rural areas.

At the conclusion of the deliberations, a resolution was adopted recommending that the PZPR and ZSL members in the Olsztyn Voivodship increase their efforts in

implementing the joint agricultural policy and the second stage of the economic reform. Among the participants were Kazimierz Grzesiak, director of the Agriculture Section of the PZPR Central Committee, and Tadeusz Rachniewicz, director of the Economic and Agriculture Section of the ZSL National Committee. Tadeusz Jelski, first secretary of the Olkusz PZPR Voivodship Committee, and Jan Chudy, chairman of the Olkusz ZSL Voivodship Committee, presided.

#### **Enterprise Restructuring Needs Noted**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
30 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Marek Badtke: "Bydgoszcz: Raising the Goal"]

[Text] Immediate prospects for the voivodship—the socio-economic development plan for the region next year—were the subject of the Bydgoszcz PZPR Voivodship Committee's plenum.

The deliberations in Bydgoszcz ended a series of meetings on the plan for next year.

Next year the electronics, electro-machine, and chemical industries will develop most rapidly. The growth trend in the voivodship's economy, it was stated during the plenum, must be accompanied by a further rationalization of employment, production specialization of workforces, improvement in organization of work, and an increase in its efficiency.

But in many of the factories in the region, the need to improve the organizational structure and to certify jobs has seemingly been forgotten.

There can be no reform of the state without a reform of its enterprise, it was said during the discussion of the group on the problems of industry, construction, and investment.

Next year the residents of the region should more clearly feel the effects of the actions initiated by the party that express an active relationship to the economic reform.

#### **More 'Open' Party Meetings Noted**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
30 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Tadeusz Wiarek: "Kielce: Measures of Labor Productivity"]

[Text] On 29 December 1987 the Kielce PZPR Voivodship Committee held a plenum to discuss the implementation of the tasks resulting from the resolution of the PZPR Voivodship Committee of 11 December 1986 on increasing the effectiveness of party in Kielce Voivodship. Jaroslaw Motyka, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, presided.

In 1987, 2,732 candidates were accepted by the voivodship party organization in Kielce Voivodship, which now has a membership of 73,196 members and candidates. During the past year there were many positive changes in the work of basic party organization and local and factory organizations. The thoroughness of action by the party executives increased.

Periodic reviews of the implementation of recommendations announced at meetings of the basic party organizations became a regular principle. Greater attention is paid to the preparations and course of party meetings, which more frequently are of an open nature.

The work of party units with the circles of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and the Rural Youth Union, which have the authority to recommend individuals for party membership, requires constant improvement. This past year only 26 percent of these circles recommended their members to the PZPR. Party activity in the trade union movement was given high marks. Currently, the union movement in Kielce is the largest civic organization of working people and includes more than 210,000 individuals employed in socialized plants.

#### **Referendum Reviewed, Self-Management Studied**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
30 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Leslaw Kolijewicz: "Krosno: Support for Initiatives"]

[Text] (PAP) Is the variation in society's participation in the referendum and in opening the way for economic reform in the region a result of shortcomings in political work, of a lack of involvement by the party aktiv, or perhaps of unresolved painful issues in communities that cause some social groups to be discouraged? This is one of the main questions the party members asked themselves at the plenum of the Krosno PZPR Voivodship Committee on 29 December 1987 which defined the tasks of voivodship party organizations and offices in implementing the resolutions of the sixth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

The discussion answered the question in concrete proposals for improving party action and supporting innovative initiatives that occur in the region. For example, the conception of tightening cooperation between the national councils and the workers' self-managements of factories under the new conditions of enterprise self-financing and the decentralization of decisionmaking and financial authority of the lowest level of national councils were judged to be worthy of particular attention and support. In the similar proposals presented by Tadeusz Kruk (voivod of Krosno), Jozef Wojtowicz (chairman of the workers' self-management of the Krosno Glass Factory), Mieczyslaw Soltyk (first secretary of the Rymanow PZPR City-Gmina Committee), and others, this cooperation will assure, among other things, more rapid development of housing construction.



The next conclusion of the plenum was that the social active villages and towns must receive more resources from others to support the implementation of economic initiatives and civic efforts.

#### **Rules 'Muzzle' Initiative**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
30 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Slawomir Sikora: "Nowy Sacz: A Need for Party Boldness"]

[Text] To what degree will the party organizations in Nowy Sacz Voivodship succeed in creating reform-oriented attitudes among the workers and residents of the voivodship? What barriers are impeding and hampering the introduction of new economic rules of play? Are efforts to gain society's approval for the program of changes effective? The members of the Nowy Sacz PZPR Voivodship Committee asked themselves these questions at the plenum, which Jozef Brozek, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, chaired.

The reference point for the party debates consisted of the resolutions of the third and sixth plenums of the Central Committee, the resolutions of the Voivodship Committee, and the proposals prepared by the working groups composed of representatives of civic and professional groups. The executive of the Voivodship Committee searching for new forms of work for the offices resigned from an introductory report. The foundation for the discussion were the mentioned proposals.

Tadeusz Karus of the Glinik Drilling and Mining Machine Factory in Gorlice was of the opinion that many barriers and obstacles delaying change lie in the people themselves. "Conservative attitudes, focused on surviving, covering oneself with mere words and verbosity, make themselves known. People judge the on-going discussions by their results, by whether proper recommendations become reality in the workplace, in the stores. Unfortunately, one sees no mechanisms in the factories that reward and stimulate quality work, inventiveness, materials conservation. Too often the party members and organizations are also passive. The attitude of waiting for marching orders remains."

The opinion that the greatest obstacle to intelligent people are the regulations that restrict them appeared in most all of the comments. Barbara Mardylowa called them a muzzle, which in culture (of which she was speaking) prevents many institutions from earning enough for their needs and maintenance.

The recommendations and proposals gathered in the resolution will be the starting point for planning the work of party organizations in the Nowy Sacz Voivodship.

#### **Monopolization Faulted in Growth**

26000164 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
30 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Alicja Zagorska: "Suwalki: Not To Fear Responsibility"]

[Text] The tasks of the Suwalki party organization, basic party organizations, and party committees in light of the resolutions of the sixth plenum of the Central Committee, was the subject of yesterday's deliberations of the Suwalki PZPR Voivodship Committee.

In spite of the various barriers impeding the development of the economy, there is a chance to overcome them with our own efforts. Many enterprises in the Suwalki Voivodship are capable of doing this. Zbigniew Oleskiwicz, director of the Pollam-Wilkasy Lighting Equipment Factory, said during the discussion. This factory met its annual export plan on 17 December 1987, and the tasks it has set for itself will be 16 to 17 percent higher than this year.

The major thread of the discussion during the plenum centered on the tasks resting on the fundamental sector of the economy in the voivodship—agriculture. Although it experienced another good year, the rate of improvement was slower than in the neighboring Olstyn and Ostroleka Voivodships.

Jerzy Bednarczyk, chairman of the Sulimy Agricultural Producers Cooperative in the gmina Gisztyc, saw the chief barrier to developing agricultural in the monopoly of purchasing agricultural harvests. He cited the case of Poldrob, which buys eggs from the cooperative for 13 zloty and sells them in Gisztyc for 23 zloty. Why is it taking so much money; it is only 2 km from Sulimy to Gisztyc.

The plenum deliberations, which were held jointly with the WKRR, were chaired by Waldemar Berdys, first secretary of the Suwalki PZPR Voivodship Committee

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#### **Select Voivodship Peoples Council Sessions Reported**

26000182 Warsaw RADA NARODOWA in Polish  
No 1-5, 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 Jan 88

[No 1, 2 Jan 88 p 12]

[Excerpts]

18 November

In Ostroleka, variants for the premises to the voivodship annual plan for 1988 and information about the realization of the Voivodship People's Council [WRN] 1982 resolution on intensification of activities to control speculation in the voivodship were examined along with the



state and directions for activity to improve the state of the consumer market, the operation of business and expansion of the business network by 1995.

The discussion covered the need for businesses to cooperate with the voivodship's production plants to improve consumer supplies, for an improvement in the sanitary conditions at business establishments and in the supply of equipment and qualified personnel, improvement of business organization and an increase in the operating hours and commercial establishments during free Saturdays and the construction of new shops through public action.

The attendance level was 67.3 percent.

In Szczecin, an appeal was made to local residents to participate in the national referendum on 29 November. Tasks were set for the creation of better conditions for an increase in housing construction in the voivodship with special emphasis on the preparation of construction sites, plant construction and means of helping work establishments meet the housing needs of their employees. Members of the Szczecin Marine Chamber's Minde-meanors Collegium were elected for the 1988-1991 term of office. The council reviewed the voivodship's methods and handling of public recommendations and demands during the 1984 people's council election campaigns and the 1985 Sejm elections. It also evaluated the state of realization of the 1983 WRN resolution on directions for the activation of small towns and adopted resolutions on the following problems:

- consultation on the recommendation to change the special territorial division of regional internal affairs units in the voivodship;

- creation of a temporary WRN commission to determine the range of tasks from the level of the WRN to that of the primary-level people's councils within the voivodship;

- the allotment of subsidies from the voivodship reserve fund;

- changes in the voivodship budget for 1987;

- changes in mandates for the WRN roster.

The council also received information about the activities of the inter-session WRN Presidium. There were 16 people and 14 council members that participated in this discussion.

There were 8 questions on the issues of preventing private buyers from selling lumber and firewood, the shortage of basic medicines and medical supplies in the drugstores of Swinoujscie, management of the "Frigate" restoration project in Szczecin, installation in Szczecin of a receiver for Soviet satellite television, streamlining

ferry operations in Swinoujscie, the lack of school textbooks in the schoolbook depository in Miedzyzdroje, delays in the construction of the health care center and the expansion of the school in Brojce.

Attendance was 74.4 percent.

#### 19 November

The Gorzow Wielkopolski WRN passed a program for the development of that voivodship's physical education, sports and tourism up to 1995, evaluated the effects of actions to control alcoholism and received information about the realization of voter recommendations during the people's council and Sejm elections.

Evaluating the results of activities to control alcoholism, the council found certain shortcomings.

The council adopted a resolution on raising budget expenditures from surplus revenue and on allotting the People's Council of the Town and Community of Drzenko money from the WRN reserve fund.

There were 7 questions on the issues of health care, the functioning of public transportation, agricultural supplies and finances.

Attendance was 68.4 percent.

#### 20 November

In Pila, the WRN adopted its voivodship annual plan for 1988 and reviewed information about the implementation of the 1979 WRN resolution on basic directions for development of forestry and the timber industry and information on the state of scheduled plans for the realization of tasks set by the program for prevention and control of social pathology for 1986-1990.

There were submitted 4 questions on the supply of primary-use articles, causes of the voivodship's shortage of cheaper wash powders, full realization of the program for improving the work of fire departments and problems in the purchase of films for Pila movie theaters.

Council of State Member Jerzy Zygmunt Uzieblo took part in the meeting.

The attendance was 62 percent.

The Skierniewice WRN reviewed the state and directions for growth of livestock production in the voivodship until 1995, passed a program for health care and social welfare for 1986-1990 and adopted a resolution to pass some issues down to the primary-level people's councils.

There were 6 questions on improving the work of the State Motor Transport and Municipal Transportation Establishments, regulation of the principles for releasing water from storm drains into irrigation ditches and work clothes.

The attendance level was 71.6 percent.

23 November

The Gdansk WRN looked at the state and prospects for expansion of passenger transportation. The discussion was drawn to the need to improve passenger transportation within the voivodship. There was a proposal to create rival cooperative or private transportation enterprises. The committee also accepted variants for the voivodship annual plan and budget and adopted 4 resolutions on changes in the WRN 1987 plan and budget and on changes in the city limits of Gdynia and Wejherowo. The council furthermore passed an appeal to the citizens of Gdansk and the Gdansk region to take an active part in the national referendum.

There were presented 7 questions on the recompensation and rebate of taxes on land taken over for a protective zone along the Radunia River, improvement of public transportation between Kalbudy and the Greater Gdansk Region, levying a tax on dog owners in the city and adjoining rural areas and taking action to create a duty-free zone in the Gdansk-Sopot-Gdynia aggregate.

The attendance level was 84.5 percent.

The Kielce WRN approved a regional plan for territorial management, evaluated the realization of its 1976 resolution on increasing health care and social welfare and reviewed the implementation of the 1986 resolution on improving the moral health of society and on protection of property.

Assessing the realization of the resolution on improving health care and social welfare, the council members spoke about the shortage of medicines and medical supplies, the dissatisfactory sanitary state of the voivodship and the growing plague of drunkenness and drug addiction.

In an adopted resolution, the council defined its tasks and goals in preventing social pathology.

The attendance level was 79.3 percent.

The Torun WRN evaluated the realization of a 1978 program for development of culture, reviewed information on the activity of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate and its cooperation with people's councils and made a preliminary evaluation of the realization of the voivodship electoral program for 1984-1987.

The attendance level was 72.8 percent.

[No 2, 9 Jan 88 p 12]

[Excerpts]

24 November

The Bialystok WRN evaluated the living conditions of voivodship citizens with regard to the realization of tasks adopted in the present term of office's program and voter recommendations and demands. The council also reviewed the problems and directions for action in the health, professional and social rehabilitation of the voivodship's disabled and passed a resolution on the matter.

The council also received information on the voivodship government's use of a Supreme Administrative Court ruling on the decision-making activities of regional organs of state government in the voivodship in 1986 and 1987 and information on the realization of the June 1986 resolution on enterprises promoting the growth of housing construction in 1986-1990.

There were 7 questions on the sale of commercial and construction lumber, the improper distribution of coal by voivodship establishments to certain communities, the inclusion in next year's plan of a petroleum products center in Kryniki and the building of a station roof at the State Motor Transport terminal on Ulica Lenina in Bialystok.

The session was attended by Deputy Chairman of the Council of State Tadeusz Szlachowski and the attendance level was 69 percent.

25 November

The Bydgoszcz WRN chose a variant for its draft of the voivodship annual plan and announced a proposal for the central annual plan for 1988. The council also reviewed information about measures taken and the results of the realization of the National Action for School Assistance and evaluated the activity of people's councils in Sepolin and Trzemeszno.

A report on an audit over the first three quarters of 1987 of the IRCh was received along with information about the realization of the law on environmental protection and management and the state of realization of the voivodship budget.

The WRN's work plan for the first quarter of 1988 was adopted.

The attendance level was 78.3 percent.

The Krosno WRN adopted a program for the development of road construction and modernization up to 1990 and further directions to be taken in the period up to 2000. The council evaluated the realization of its 1986

resolution on approval of a plan by the government and cooperative establishments on controlling social pathology and crime in 1986-1990.

The council also adopted premises for the 1988 voivodship annual plan, divided reserves from the budget surplus of 1986, assessed the activity of the voivodship's municipal self-governments and set directions for further action.

The attendance level was 77.3 percent.

#### 26 November

The Kalisz WRN evaluated the realization of tasks and the fulfillment of regional government organs' supervision and control of establishments subordinate to the voivodship's various people's councils.

The council also reviewed information about the state of realization of the government program for prevention and control of social pathology and crime in 1986-1990 and information about the voivodship's state of public safety and order with special regard to social pathology.

There was a division of the 1986 budget surplus and changes were made in the voivodship annual plan and the 1987 budget.

#### 3 December

The Rzeszow WRN evaluated the realization of the 1986-1990 social and economic plan for agriculture and food economy and passed a program for development of culture in 1988-1990.

The council also received information about the activity of the WRN Presidium during the period between sessions and passed a work plan for the first half of 1988.

The attendance level was 69 percent.

[No 3, 16 Jan 88 p 12]

[Excerpts]

#### 8 December

The Katowice WRN evaluated the state of farm implement protection and the rational use of forests within the voivodship, elected members to the collegium on misdemeanors of the higher and district mining bureaus, received information about the fulfillment of the 1985 resolution on a program on possibilities for housing construction in 1986-1990 and examined a report on the activities of three primary-level people's councils, namely, the Dubrowa Gornicza Municipal people's Council, the Toszek Town and Community People's Council and the Rudziniec Community People's Council.

Council of State Member Jerzy Nawrocki took part in the meeting.

The attendance level was 71.8 percent.

The Krakow City People's Council evaluated the realization of tasks set by its own resolutions on:

—environmental protection in Krakow Voivodship (No 64 of 2 December 1981);

—the restructuring and modernization of the Lenin Metallurgical Works (No 76 of 18 June 1982);

—the program for environmental protection and water conservation in 1986-2010 (No 110 of 15 October 1986).

Professor Waldemar Michna, minister of environmental protection and natural resources, took part in the meeting.

The council also received information about the course and results of the national referendum in Krakow Voivodship.

The attendance level was 74.7 percent.

#### 9 December

The Sieradz WRN evaluated a program for soil management and assessed the realization of a program for prevention of social pathology and crime in 1986-1990.

The council also adopted resolutions on the issues of:

—changes in the Wielun city limits;

—granting charter status to the Voivodship Palace of Culture, the Artistic Exhibits Bureau and the Bureau of Historical Site Documentation;

—changes in the voivodship annual plan and budget for 1987;

— earmarking the reserve fund;

—handing the Multi-Industrial Enterprise for Regional Industry in Wielun over to the Wielun Town and Community People's Council.

The council received information about the work of the WRN Presidium during the period between sessions.

The attendance level was 70.3 percent.

The Wloclawek WRN reviewed a report on the realization of its 1977 resolution and a report on a program for protecting and managing man's natural environment in the voivodship in 1977-1990 and received information on the results of an audit by the Treasury Chamber in 1987.



The discussion was chiefly concentrated on problems of environmental protection which the citizens of the voivodship have found unsatisfactory. The water and air around Wloclawek is polluted.

The attendance level was 70.8 percent.

#### 9 and 10 December

The Olaszyn WRN evaluated the implementation of its 1982 resolution, outlined directions for health care of the voivodship's citizens during the period up to 1995, defined directions for action aimed at improving youth living conditions, reviewed information on the realization of its 1985 resolution on the growth of physical education and sport in the period up to 1995 and evaluated the activity of primary-level people's councils during the present term of office in connection with realization of the 1985 resolution on improving the functioning of citizen self-government and cooperation with self-government and social organizations.

Seven questions were presented on the issues of school and preschool construction, the restoration of the transportation department in Dobrze Miasto, a health-care program for Reszel, the coal shortage faced by farmers, the possibility of buying firewood in state forests and the possibilities for unloading coal at the railroad station in Swietajno.

During a break in the two-day session, council members met with the presidium of the PRON National Council to discuss the course and results of the referendum and proposals to make the social and economic life of the country more democratic including changes in the law on people's councils and self-government and realization of the elections program and voter recommendations and demands.

The attendance level was 75 percent.

#### 10 December

The Poznan WRN approved a regional plan for local management within the voivodship's Wielkopolski National Park.

The council members discussed the need to quickly make forest management more efficient, retard the process of forest degradation and restore damaged areas of the Wielkopolski National Park.

A new misdemeanor collegium of the District Mining Bureau in Poznan was elected. The council examined information about the realization of voter recommendations and demands during the campaigns for the people's council and self-government elections off 1984 and the Sejm elections of 1985.

The council also received information about the activities of the IRCh, the work of the WRN presidium in the period between sessions and about the realization of WRN resolutions including the 1985 resolution on a program for development of the voivodship's agriculture and food economy until 1992 and a 1986 resolution on a long-term program for construction of housing and social and technical infrastructure.

There were 12 questions on accelerating the inventory of manor parks, repairing the viaduct on Ulica Slupaka and the poor quality of the work being done on Ulica Grunwaldzka in Poznan, the transfer of land from the State Land Bank to state agricultural farms without consultation with rural self-government, delays in service by passenger trains and their bad sanitary state, the transportation of children to consolidated schools and the lack of buses, increasing the supply of oil-meal for private farmers and accelerating the construction of the hospital in Gniezno.

Council of State Member Piotr Stefanski took part in the meeting.

The attendance level was 78 percent.

[No 4, 23 Jan 88 p 12]

[Excerpts]

#### 14 December

The Lodz City People's Council met today. The chief subject of the meeting was the care of preschool children and the present status and prospects for meeting preschool care needs.

The council members called out for more effective measures to improve the situation and discussed the need to improve preschool teacher resources and improve the feeding of children in preschools and nurseries. The council also pointed out the need for an increase in the participation in child day care programs of work establishments.

The attendance level was 73.2 percent.

The Slupsk WRN selected a variant for the 1988 voivodship annual plan which gives preferences to agriculture, housing construction and health care investments. The variant also calls for an increase in work productivity and a shortening of investment cycles.

There were three questions on the issues of improving the voivodship's supply of foreign grocery items, housing for pharmacists in Miaszek and liquidation of the "Agroma" chapter in Slupsk.

The attendance level was 74 percent.



16 December

The Ciechanow WRN evaluated the functioning of self-government in the city and adjoining rural areas and stated that self-government activities had followed the 20 July 1983 law on the system of people's councils and regional self-government but that they must still be made stronger. Discussion pointed out the need for greater cooperation by neighboring rural self-governments to resolve shared local problems and the make proper use of available funds.

The council also evaluated the realization of the WRN resolution on a program for improving young people's start in life and looked at the activities of the Youth Affairs Committee of the office of the Ciechanow Voivode.

The attendance level was 62 percent.

The Ostroleka WRN evaluated the state and prospects for the growth of communal infrastructure in the voivodship's cities in the period up to 1990. Council members discussed problems in waste treatment, the water and natural gas supply, modernization of city roads, urban transportation, garbage dumps and environmental protection.

The council also reviewed information about realization of a program adopted by the WRN in December 1986 for preventing and controlling social pathology and crime in the voivodship and examined information about the it's 1985 resolution on improving sanitation and fire prevention in the voivodship.

There were 7 questions on prices for the collection of water in rural areas, the treatment of citizen council members during the handling of a problem, electrical power disconnections in the community of Sypniewo, improper classification of cattle, deductions losses in sugar beet yields and the lack of beet pulps sugar beets.

The attendance level was 70 percent.

[No 5, 30 Jan 88 p 12]

[Excerpts]

16 December

The Szczecin WRN elected members for the 1988-1991 term of the misdemeanor collegium in the Szczecin Marine Bureau. It also evaluated the effects of investment enterprises taken to protect the voivodship's environment. The recommendations received pointed out the need for improving the efficiency of all existing waste treatment plants, reducing the construction cycle for new plants, intensifying activity to protect the atmosphere and increasing by at least 7 percent the budget investments for environmental protection.

Resolutions on changing the Szczecin city limits and the WRN's 1988 plan were adopted.

There were two questions on the poor state of ambulance facilities and the low number of ambulances in Stargard Szczecinski and on improving the agricultural supply of nitrogen fertilizer.

The attendance level was 69 percent.

The Tarnobrzeg WRN reviewed the premises and a preliminary draft for the voivodship's 1988 plan. It also evaluated the realization of a program for controlling social pathology according to regulations of the laws on sobriety, the provisions of juvenile court procedure and the law on drug addiction and work avoidance. The council received information about realization of a program for improving young people's start in life and about realization of public actions in 1987.

The attendance level was 72 percent.

17 December

The Warsaw Capital City People's Council reviewed information about the realization of a broad action program for the areas of transportation and communications and about realization of a program to control social pathology and alcoholism. It approved a work plan for the remainder of its term of office and a work plan for its presidium.

Resolutions about changes in the Legionowo city limits and changes in the voivodship budget revenue were adopted.

The attendance level was 65 percent.

The Jelenia Gora WRN evaluated the state of livestock and especially cattle production and set new tasks in that area. It also reviewed information about the voivodship's sanitary state in 1986 and the first half of 1987 as well as information about the observance of law and the work of the presidium during the period between sessions.

There were 16 questions and recommendations about the supply of medicine, hospital expansion, telephone communications, medical care for school children, improvement of public transportation, school construction, improvement of community roads and the supply of liquid fuels.

The attendance level was 70 percent.

The Lublin WRN evaluated the state and prospects for the development of communications in the voivodship until the year 2000. Recognizing the unsatisfactory nature of this situation, a resolution adopted by the council stressed that it would be appropriate to provide

material, technical and organizational help to the new public committees for the introduction of telephones to villages and housing settlements.

The council reviewed information about the activities of regional government and the Citizen's Militia to improve public order and safety and control social pathology.

The attendance level was 72 percent.

The Lomza WRN evaluated the state of growth of transportation, public transportation and communications and set tasks for the period up to 1990. The council discussion brought up the need to improve the functioning of public transportation in the voivodship, to synchronize the schedules of the State Motor Transport and Polish State Railroads and to improve passenger service and improve rural telephone service.

The council assessed the state of the electrical power network and adopted a resolution on the provision of the needed amount of electrical power to rural areas and to agriculture.

The attendance level was 63.8 percent.

The Piotrkow Trybunalski WRN passed a program for protection of the natural environment and water management in the voivodship until 1995 and also outlined directions for such activities until the year 2010. The council approved the voivodship's 1988 annual plan and evaluated realization of its December 1986 plan to prevent and control social pathology and crime.

There were 11 questions about the functioning of urban transportation, allotment of building materials, the supply of fuel oil, communal management and housing.

The attendance level was 73 percent.

#### 18 December

The Bialsko-Biala WRN examined candidates for the office of voivode. By secret vote, the council approved the candidacy of Franciszek Strzalko, the present secretary of the Bialsko-Biala Voivodship PZPR Committee. Minister Michal Janiszewski, director of the Bureau of the Council of Ministers, attended the meeting on the authorization of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and stated that the premier would appoint this candidate to the position of voivode. The council received a report on the activities of Jan Walach, the present voivode.

The attendance level was 80.6 percent.

The Nowy Sacz WRN evaluated the realization of its 1983 resolution on the socialist education of youth and children in the voivodship and the directions in life faced by young people.

It also evaluated the realization of a voivodship program for controlling social pathology and alcoholism.

The attendance level was 52 percent.

12261

**PZPR Voivodship Plenary Session Reported**  
26000223 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
6-7 Feb 88 p 4

[Article by Marek Miziak, PAP: "Evaluation of Accomplishments and Plans for the Future"]

[Text] Piotrkow Trybunalski. An assessment of the occurrences in the voivodship's economy during 1987 and the plan for this year point to the fundamental problems on which we must focus the party's attention and activity, it was declared on 5 February during the plenary session of the Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship PZPR Committee on the subject of the tasks of the voivodship party organization in implementing the socioeconomic plan during the second stage of the economic reform.

Analysis of last year's results indicates that the value of the region's industrial output last year was 10 percent higher than in 1986. This was due chiefly to the increase in the output of the coal, power, metal, machinery, and garment industries. However, at 21 enterprises the level of the preceding year's output was not reached, and a proper ratio between the increase in wages and in labor productivity was attained only at eight.

These were only some of the problems considered during the discussion.

The deliberations were attended by Director of the Personnel Policy Department of the PZPR Central Committee Jerzy Swiderski.

**Independent POP Role Favored**  
26000223 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
22 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by Zbigniew Wrobel: "Elblag: Action Is the Source of the POP's Authority"]

[Text] The implementation of the resolution of the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum has contributed to spurring the activism and autonomy of the POPs [basic party organizations] active at enterprises and institutions of Elblag Voivodship. The party's actions became characterized by broader economic thinking and boldness in initiating reform-minded projects in various occupational milieux, as was stated on 20 February, during the discussion relating to the plenary session by party activists from, among other places, the Braniewski Construction Works, the Pulp and Paper Works in Kwidzyn, and the State Farm.

The deliberations, which were attended by Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the CKKR [Central Control and Audit Commission] Włodzimierz Mokrzyński, were chaired by First Secretary of the Elbląg Voivodship PZPR Committee Bolesław Smagała.

"We desire and aspire that an autonomous POP cooperating on a partnership basis with the party echelons and enjoying the authority of the workforce operate in the reformed and autonomous enterprise. It is to be an autonomous POP in the sense that it solves autonomously the plant's problems as well as the problems of rallying the workforce round the objectives and tasks outlined by the party. We must be much more demanding toward ourselves," said Comrade Bolesław Grabowski, first secretary of the Szum Gmina PZPR Committee. He continued, "Not only because we are thus obligated by the resolution of the Central Committee Plenum but also because such is the need and the behest of the moment."

Taking the floor in the discussion, Comrade Wł. Mokrzyński stated that, among other things, the conduct of economic and political reforms requires mobilizing huge social forces. He declared that party members must, by providing that personal example which is needed in every situation, prepare the society for new thinking and new methods of management. He stressed that the reform's success will be decided by the force of our party action, our activism, our ability to gain allies for the party's reform undertakings.

The deliberations were concluded by adopting a resolution defining the tasks for the party aktiv in improving the performance of the POPs and by adopting decisions concerning the organizational structure of the departments of the Elbląg Voivodship PZPR Committee.

#### Personal Responsibility Emphasized

26000223 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
22 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by Henryk Heller: "Leszno Wielkopolskie: Responsibility for the Reform"]

[Text] The principal task of party elements is that, wherever PZPR members are present and work, they should be the spokesmen for a resolute application of the economic reform and attend to reducing to a minimum the inconveniences associated with the implementation of its second stage.

During the discussion at the plenum of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee attempts were made to answer the question of how to assure this and what should be done in order that the party tasks of accelerating the economic reform and in the sociopolitical domain be fully implemented. That plenum was chaired by First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee Stanisław Sawicki.

This time there was no dearth of critical comments on the implementation of the new tasks of enterprises and, against this background, on their management. The obstacles to the application of the principles of the second stage of the economic reform were severely condemned, but at the same time examples of initial experience in what can already be done in order to utilize the existing conditions for accelerating the growth of the nation's economy were presented.

"The process of reforming the economy had been during the first stage too generalized and incomplete," said Stefan Kupka, director of the METALCHEM Chemical Equipment Plant in Kosciów. "Now that there exists a government program for implementing the second stage of the economic reform, a program that contains specific measures. The conditions for implementing it exist, but do the objectives transcend the current actual possibilities of our economy?"

There also exist other barriers to increasing output. "Recently," said Henryk Bartosz, chairman of the Gmina Cooperative in Poneć, "I was notified that unless we accept the new terms for the sale of cement imposed on us by the cement plants, we face the peril of an interruption in the deliveries of this building material, so greatly needed in the countryside, as early as in the second quarter of this year. This is because the POLCEMENT has formed a joint-stock company with cement plants and, because it acts as a middleman, the shipments of cement will be 300 zlotys per sack more expensive."

The adopted resolution places party organizations and echelons under the obligation of resolutely acting to promote economic reforms and modernize structures, including management at enterprises, as well as to strengthen the standing of worker self-governments and trade-union organizations at enterprises.

#### Technological, R&D Needs Stressed

26000223 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
8 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by Marek Badtke: "Direction: Modernity" sur-titled "Plenum of the Toruń Voivodship PZPR Committee"]

[Text] "Technological progress is the stepchild of our economy," declared Zbigniew Gros of the Grudziądz WARMIA Plant during last Saturday's plenum of the Toruń Voivodship PZPR Committee. "The striving to modernize production should be maximally tangible at enterprises. Plant design and technology offices, prototype laboratories, and experimental plants or scientific research centers should be more than ever the forge of technological progress. The reality, however, is such that



the R&D facilities at enterprises are poor, the engineering personnel are aging or quitting their jobs for more lucrative employment, and the graduates of the higher engineering schools are not interested in working in industry."

Another symptom of the same disease is the wide gap between science and the economy. The higher schools are and will continue to be interested in doing scientific research for the needs of the economy, said the Rector of the UMK (Maria Curie University) Professor Jan Kopcewicz during the plenary discussion, and he pointed to bureaucratic barriers and schematic thinking that complicate the transfer of scientific thought to industry or agriculture.

At the same time, however, it was said at the plenum, the continuing limited utilization of up-to-date technological solutions ensues from the high cost of innovation. This problem could be resolved by taking joint decisions concerning the plants of the same or allied subsectors and coordinating more thoroughly the R&D work in plants with a similar nature of production.

A common denominator has been the belief in the decisive role of technological and organizational progress to restoring the health of our economy. An optimistic prognosis for Torun Voivodship is offered by an analysis prepared by the same party task force which had prepared the plenary deliberations of the Voivodship Committee. That task force, consisting of more than 100 activists from among members of the Voivodship Committee, the Committee's Commission for Economic and Agricultural Policies, and representatives of worker self-governments, trade unions, scientific and technical associations, and institutions of higher education and scientific research centers, has worked out a "Program for Technological Progress."

This program was enriched at the plenary session by, among other things, the comments offered by Marian Zenkiewicz, Ryszard Puchacz, and Jan Szafranski of Torun as well as by Jacek Wojtasiak of Grudziadz. The related recommendations pertain in particular to the development of the ways and means of party activity resulting in a more effective smoothing of the road for technological and organizational progress.

The recommendations contained in the Voivodship Committee's resolution include specific tasks for the voivodship's party echelons and organizations in "dynamizing" the efforts which shall make of technological and organizational progress the principal instrument for translating into reality the social objectives posed for the second stage of the economic reform.

## Catholic Weekly Prints Reservations on Election Law Changes

Narrow Nominative, Candidate Bases Viewed  
26000159 Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish  
17 Jan 88 p 8

[Article by A.W.: "On the Margins"]

[Text] All political reports suffer their own peculiar fate. The first material presented to the October Central Committee Plenum and which was several weeks ago given to journalists included a series of interesting propositions and above all a sharp and unusually frank analysis of the situation. The final report to the plenum already had a much calmer and more conventional style and included more moderate proposals. However, at the stage of realization, these proposals are all smoothed out. For example, proposals for change somehow disappear. In chapter II of the report, I read: "We think that before candidates for people's council members are proposed, there should be pre-election meetings". In the later press publication of premises for changes in electoral law, this proposal had been dropped. It is only the political, social and union organizations, PRON and conventions of citizens and worker self-management that can announce candidates. Therefore, Mister Kowalski, who belongs to no organization not only has no chance of ever being on a list of candidates for the people's council but his name could never even be presented to the public or proposed to an electoral collegium. Up to now, people's council elections have not been elections at all. They were simply a process of voting for or against a list of candidates and programs set by the National Unity Front (FJN) or PRON. Now we may be able to choose between two candidates probably presented in alphabetical order (variant I). However, these candidates will almost certainly be figures from local organizations. This will be a form of progress but we will still have to choose between two almost identical candidates. After all, an activist lives on his "connections" and must adapt himself to the rules.

The changes in the electoral procedure are supposed to be "an encouragement to more active citizen participation...enhance the authority of the councils thanks to a stronger tie between council members and voters". If not enough "unaffiliated Kowalski's" are able to become candidates for council elections, this goal will never be realized. No matter how much the councils improve, people will not become more interested in them than before but it would be a good thing for them to gain greater authority since it is expected that communal economy will become considerably more independent (and gain legal status, property and independence from higher authority). "Connections" in local government will not therefore change substantially and may probably even become more entrenched because there will be greater independence from voivodship and central authority.



This reminds one of the wise decentralizing reforms made in Prussia by ministers Stein and Hardenberg during the crises that followed that country's defeat by Napoleon. At that time, much authority and financial power went to county and city governments but it was clear that peasant and craftsman participation in the movement was limited and that decisionmaking went from the central government into the hands of local notables, Junkers and the wealthy.

From a general political point of view, the expansion of electoral freedom causes no greater problems. And what would happen if some council member began to make independent statements on grand policy? Nothing. That would be rather ridiculous. At the same time, if there are too few "unaffiliated Kowalski's" in the people's councils, there will be no one impartial enough to hear citizens' needs and complaints.

And still another two remarks. Why do we have a choice of just two candidates? I fear that many valuable people will drop out of elections because there will be no room for them among the notables. I am also alarmed by Article 12 which states that a candidate list can contain "only those people about whom...no justifiable reservations have been expressed". One must at least state exactly what sort of reservations would bar a candidate because a candidate critical of the so-called "only proper" course of action by local government could be immediately dropped from the list as "incompetent, arrogant and smart-alecky". It does not seem that this provision is at all a correct one.

#### Proposals Viewed as Lacking in Democracy

26000159 Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish  
24 Jan 88 pp 1, 3

[Article by Janusz Bargiel: "Observations on the Issue of Regulations"]

[Text] On 31 December 1987 and without any prior notice, the press published the Council of State's premises for changes in the people's council voting regulations. The public was invited to respond to the proposed changes within two weeks.

(...) (Article 2, Points 2 and 6 of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and public performances, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, and No 44, Item 204).

In order to imagine what an important role the people's councils have, it is worth remembering that according to the Constitution, they are regional organs of state government and the basic organs of public self-government. They are, therefore, the chief form of social organization that make it possible for citizens to participate in the management of public affairs. It is one of the constitutional assumptions of our state that society is to be active

in the establishment of the economic and social conditions of life. Theoretically, the role and influence that people's councils have on the life of the local public could be uncommonly important.

What, therefore, must be done to make constitutional principles a part of everyday practice? The answer seems simple enough.

First of all, we must stop reducing the people's councils to the role of a mere transmitter of political instructions and allow them to take part in authentic government which would help restore the self-government destroyed in 1950. Second, there must be the sort of conditions that would give all citizens equal rights in the creation of their local representation.

It is now time to go from these general remarks to the merits of the issue and devote a little space to discussing the Council of State's proposed changes to the people's council election regulations. The Council of State's proposals introduce a few cosmetic modifications and one real change. That one real change eliminates mandates which means that an unmarked ballot will indeed no longer be counted. This will make the voter choose between candidates because choices are exactly what elections are all about. That is an important change, especially when we recall that not too far back, people were urged to turn in unmarked ballots which made voting more of an act of local loyalty to the regime and government. That move in itself is the one proposal worth considering.

It really has to be said that the public expected much more than that. The public had a right to expect more, especially since the discussions before the November referendum brought up a radical or outright revolutionary transformation of social, economic and political life and the Politburo report to the 6th Central Committee Plenum stated that "before council candidates' names are proposed, pre-election meetings must be held".

This brings us to the most important point, namely, the way in which council candidates are proposed. In accordance with current election regulations, it is the PZPR, allied parties, trade unions, registered societies and public organizations that have the right to run candidates. The bill presented by the Council of State has now included citizen's conventions that are set up in a few voivodships by the voivodship people's council.

A system structured in this way gives a double preference to members of the PZPR and its allied parties because they can be advanced both by their maternal organizations as well as by the trade unions or social organizations to which they also belong. Such a system places considerable restraints on non-members and unaffiliated persons and completely overthrows any chance of a voting law that works. In such a situation, it is hard to say that the voting law has any democratic principles. Here it would be worth quoting Professor Sylwester

Zawadzki who said that "from the point of view of making the election process more democratic, the system of promoting candidates has the greatest importance. What is needed is for a citizen's influence to not be limited just to participation in the act of voting and that it start right at the moment that candidates are proposed so that the voting lists include candidates who enjoy the trust and acceptance of the voters".

Recently, much has been said about the need to liberate social energy, overcome passive and indifferent attitudes and involve the greatest number of citizens in the resolution of public issues. It was also said that the public mood cannot be changed as long as the government does not take the deliberate and courageous step of opening itself up to society. Words alone are no longer enough. Specific and practical measures are needed. A really democratic voting law would naturally activate mechanisms that could release the human energy that lies hidden in our society. It would also create an atmosphere for the mutual trust we need so much.

Unfortunately, the bill presented by the Council of State has brought more disappointment than hope. We can only wish that it will remain just a bill and never become the law.

12261

#### **Columnist Assails Government on Handling of November Referendum**

26000246 Poznan WPROST in Polish  
No 8, 21 Feb 88 pp 12-13

[Article by Marek K. Saczanski: "The Most Expensive Consultation Alternative"]

[Text] What has been happening in our country over the past couple of months is open to various assessments, but it is difficult to reconcile ourselves to the destitution of the industrial goods market, the confusion, and the chaos. I think that the method chosen for consulting the public on the targets anticipated for the second stage of the economic reform, especially the goals of the income and pricing policy, has played a major role in the disintegration of the market and the deterioration of social attitudes. It has also been very expensive and has taken too long.

Naturally, openness is better than surprising people with new prices or silent (hidden) increases. It is also good that citizens have finally ceased to be treated as half-wits for whom economic explanations are pointless, given their inability to understand. Nonetheless, inasmuch as the decision was made to hold a general national referendum, there should have been preparation for the various possibilities, especially in view of the fact that public opinion polls, held prior to the referendum and revealed afterward, showed unequivocally that many people did not accept the drastic reform implementation alternative that involved food price increases on the

order of 110 percent, along with many other things. There was probably plenty of time to prepare various alternatives, given the situation that, as a matter of fact, there was all of 1987, with at least the latter half of it devoted to discussions of assumptions concerning the second stage of the economic reform. Meanwhile, the situation since 29 November 1987, showed that the government was best prepared for a single alternative, and this the most drastic one, the one which alongside the above-mentioned increases in the prices of food, electricity, and gas, and in the rates for hot water, rent, and the like, also envisioned the elimination of the monopoly on buying up agricultural crops. This last development could undoubtedly lead to activation in this area, but it could also lead to reducing food product subsidies to the bare minimum. Consternation and confusion reigned once it was discovered that this shocking cure had not won the necessary majority from eligible voters. Feverish work on a new alternate plan for increasing food prices while finding a way to make up for increases in the cost of living held sway over other important matters.

Availing themselves of this opportunity, branch pressure group representatives determined to fill the "gap" created after the reform of the central economic apparatus and the elimination of industrial branch ministries. This led in a short time to the creation of many new multi-plant structures known for decades by the terms "coordination," "support for scientific and technical progress," "integrating resources," and so on. It is really a question of bringing pressure to bear in order to obtain subsidies, recognized privileges, and so on, while at the same time having access to raw and other materials, and of directing enterprises that up until then had been independent (at least formally speaking). Alongside the monopolies (called "companies" or "partnerships" [wspolnota]) in coal mining and metallurgy, a gigantic concern in the electric and electronics industry came into being, called Elpol. The central cooperative unions are prospering very well, particularly in the sectors with the worst economic results (such as the sectors that supply agriculture with market goods and the means of production, and dairies). Drastic changes have been promised, but the independence of the cooperatives is still in the realm of mere postulates. Those anxious to take advantage of the possibility of breaking away from the over-developed bureaucracy are effectively penalized through hundreds of monitoring and control measures. (A well-known example of this was the dairy cooperative in Zamoc Voivodship). We could mention many other examples of how state enterprises and cooperatives have had their independence and self-management curtailed. Despite the warnings of economists, and despite the fact that for years the press has been sounding the alarm against monopolies, the monopolies are doing well, and new ones are cropping up. The antimonopoly law was no help, because there were no penalties to counteract practices of this sort. If my memory serves me, the Ministry of Finance was to handle this. One might suppose that the eyes of Minister Samojlik's group would

light up at the thought of combatting inherent monopolies that create multipoint structures which have probably been duly compromised by their own inefficiency. Nothing of the sort. Before the antimonopoly law went into effect, Elpol came into being, and old monopolies (on the order of Megat in the power industry) became stronger. Since its promulgation strange structures have still been created, usually under the pretext of "companies with limited liability" ("limited independence" is more like it). But the central economic authority has no time to deal with this, because consulting [the citizenry] is taking up a great deal of time.

The intended drastic breakthroughs, turning the economy upside down, would surely mean insolvency for at least a couple of plants that are chronically in the red, and these would be the larger ones which consume tremendous amounts of raw and other materials, power, and so on, while also availing themselves of subsidies, that is, money coming out of the pockets of all of us. But no such thing happened on the threshold of the second stage of the reform. It should come as no surprise that most of our citizens associate the whole package of reform measures merely with wage-price manipulations. But as the experience of the past few years teaches us, these maneuvers would not cure the economy of its most serious ills: inflation (from 25 to 27 percent at the end of last year), market instability, poor quality of many commodities, and other widely known adverse phenomena. The price and wage spiral will lead not to an increase in real income but to just the opposite. OPZZ data show that during the final quarter of last year, the standard of living of persons employed in the socialized economy declined in relation to the same quarter in 1986. Although there is inadequate funding for social benefits, there is no shortage of subsidies for [plants] whose books show them to be bankrupt.

After all, the results of the referendum could be read as support for all those actions that do not directly interfere with the cost of living, favoring increased supply, especially the supply of market goods to meet the population's consumption needs. I am not saying that nothing is being done in this area, but after all it is a question of achieving a breakthrough in labor efficiency, ingenuity, resourcefulness, quality, and so on. But none of this is visible yet. At the end of January, when I am writing this, the greatest emotion is being caused by the problem of compensation and what will be in the "market basket" of products included.

Naturally, this is a very important matter, but inasmuch as the price-wage "operation" (the term is an apt one) was not intended to drain the population's cash resources, but only to change the price structure — government representatives headed by Premier Mesner and Vice Premier Sadowski frequently assured us on this point — then given today's new findings in economics and statistics, it is possible to calculate exactly how much

the compensation should be. The course of the negotiations with the OPZZ written up in *POLITYKA*, however, was more reminiscent of chaotic bargaining than of defending wage and price policy alternatives that were sensible, well-prepared, balanced, and thought out. Let us hope that the next consultations will take place finally in the normal way and that economic mechanisms will replace nervous pushing and shoving.

When I wrote the above, it seemed somehow familiar. I checked. It turns out that a few years ago Z. Szefta wound up with a similar conclusion in *POLITYKA*, when he was describing the dispute between the (at that time) newly formed OPZZ and the government over wages and prices. Since then there have been many changes in ministers, and changes have also occurred in union positions. The only thing that is the same is the style of consultations undertaken at the last moment, following many months of generalized palaver (concrete data are too late in coming). Perhaps then reform is also needed in this area, but this time drastic reform, not one that is "slowed down," like the predicted increases in food prices.

10790

**OPZZ Press Conference Notes Housing, Price Hikes, Work Incentives**

26000148 Warsaw ZWIAZKOWIEC in Polish No 1, 3 Jan 88, pp 1, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 18

[Press conference with Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ chairman; Wacław Martyniuk and Jerzy Uziębło, OPZZ vice-chairman; and Franciszek Cierny, OPZZ press spokesman: "Press Conference for Foreign and Domestic Journalists"]

[Excerpts] On 14 December, OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ vice-chairmen Wacław Martyniuk and Jerzy Uziębło, and OPZZ Press Spokesman Franciszek Cierny met with foreign and domestic journalists at the Interpress Agency Press Center.

OPZZ Press Spokesman Franciszek Cierny: The holding of conferences such as these has been a good custom of the Polish trade unions. Once a year we meet you and especially the foreign journalists accredited in Poland. The year 1987 was a hard one for our economy and social life and it was also a difficult time for the trade unions. We will, therefore, try to explain to you today the most troubling problems and discuss what the OPZZ regards as successful enterprises and efforts to resolve many of the complex problems facing working people. We do not wish to make any declarations or long speeches but will traditionally try to answer your questions in a thorough and earnest manner. I understand that the most important issues at this time are economic problems, the referendum and the union movement's plans for 1988. I encourage you to discuss these issues and ask us questions.



John Tagliabue, NEW YORK TIMES: Mister Miodowicz, I would like to ask you whether you think the referendum results were a defeat or victory for the government. Do you have still a third point of view on the matter?

Alfred Miodowicz: Of course, there is a third point of view and everyone has their own opinion, right?

Krzysztof Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: The OPZZ has numerous times criticized the government's policy on prices. Could you tell us just what your concept of prices and wages is?

Alfred Miodowicz: In principle, we formulated our concept in what we called an alternative for realization of economic reform. We feel that what is presently most important is supply and the motivation to work. Prices should support supply but should not be the chief instrument.

Krzysztof Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: Could you tell us what happened to the alternative and what chances there are that these ideas will be introduced?

Alfred Miodowicz: That question is a digression because I said that we will talk about the alternative rather than the fate of the alternative. Every Tuesday, you meet here with the government press spokesman and I beg of you to ask him because Minister Urban is the one who should give a more precise answer as to what will happen to our alternative. The alternative is waiting to be received.

Andrzej Wiecho, NEWSWEEK: Would the introduction of a radical variant with the announced price increases lead to street protests or strikes?

Alfred Miodowicz: I am convinced that if that radical variant were introduced, there would be a protest in the streets. There are all kinds of street protests and it is hard to say whether they would end on Ulica Marszałkowska or spread throughout the country.

Kazimierz Siarnicki, METALOWIEC: At the congress, one individual who is now a vice-chairman of OPZZ and is not present at this meeting asked where the trade unions would find the strength to improve their efficiency. Now that a year has passed since the congress, can that question be more easily answered?

Alfred Miodowicz: We find new strength in the wisdom of people. Unfortunately, we do not always recognize the wisdom of the Polish people. We Poles are a stubborn and perhaps demanding nation. Some people feel that if we can discipline our people, everything will take a turn for the better. That is absolutely untrue because the reaction would be just the opposite. We have many millions of educated people in very good physical condition and in good intellectual condition and the referendum results demonstrated that. We can discipline our nation only if we understand the tendencies and desires

of these people who do not want Poland to be last in Europe and want to set our country on a good course. This is the course taken by the trade unions.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: How much has union membership changed in the last year?

Alfred Miodowicz: We count our membership exactly twice a year now, on 31 June and at the end of the year. To us it seems that the trade unions have not dwindled any in numbers. Anyway, I stick by the figure of 7 million union members. I would be a poor trade union representative if I said that there were any fewer than that.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: Is it true that you are to resign from the Politburo and what is your opinion of the unions activities of Solidarity?

Alfred Miodowicz: The Politburo always meets before the Central Committee plenums and it is possible that I will leave the former. However, this is the first time I have ever heard anything about my leaving the Politburo. If that did come to pass, I would think of it as one way I would no longer have to continually explain how I can be chairman of the OPZZ and a member of the Politburo. In response to the second part of your question, I must say that I do not see any sign of Solidarity activity although there may be one or two such people at any place of employment. I continue to think of Solidarity as a political force whose power can only be defined in extreme terms as either enormous, as some say, or negligible, as others say.

Wieslawa Goszczynska-Plichta, ZWIĄZKOWY BIULETYN PRAWNO-ORGANIZACYJNY: What about the restrictions on the provision and consumption of coal and how it was written into the Council of Ministers' resolution. Did you refer the matter to the Constitutional Tribunal?

Alfred Miodowicz: The trade unions feel that they are right. Collective bargaining cannot be undermined by a unilateral resolution of the Council of Ministers so we are waiting for the court to decide. I think that decision will be made in January and we do not intend to rush the Tribunal because that is not our role.

Anna Turka, CHLOPSKA DROGA: In an interview you gave several months ago, you said that there was no discrepancy between worker and peasant interests. The issue of deputies seems to be proof of that conflict. There is a coal shortage and industrial workers who have their own deputies often live in apartments heated by coal-fired power and heating plants so they naturally want these deputies. Would it not be a good gesture for workers or at least those who do not have any direct need of that coal to give it up for peasants to use?



Alfred Miodowicz: One thing is true and that is that those who have steam heaters and need the coal do not find it growing on trees. Besides, I would like to point out that these conflicts between cities and rural areas are quite natural. In our case, the trade unions and similar such rural organizations play no role in coal distribution. I would also like to add the curious point that a farmer receives coal for the number of draught animals he has.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Are the trade unions trying to have Polish law adapted to the conventions of the International Labor Organization [ILO] as signed by Poland?

Alfred Miodowicz: We are very strongly urging that. We have spoken out very clearly and critically about, for example, the premises for changes to the labor code. Today I learned that the Labor Ministry is supposedly preparing a new version of modifications to the Labor Code that are to follow the principles of that convention. We are waiting to see these proposals and we will anyway be guided by the ILO decisions that Poland also ratified.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Does that mean that this will result in the introduction of union pluralism?

Alfred Miodowicz: I must ask just how we are supposed to have more union pluralism than already exists? I think you are simply asking whether Solidarity will again be recognized. If indeed that is your real question, I can give you a direct answer. If we had to consider the recognition of Solidarity, we would then have to recognize those who support autonomous unions and there was a little more than half a million such persons in 1981 and we would have to give immediate recognition to the supporters of branch unions who did not join the restored trade unions. We would then have a situation in which a single workplace might have four unions. I have had some opportunity to speak with persons very influential in the DGB and therefore in the West German trade unions. Like my colleagues in the Austrian EGB, I continually asked them if such a large number of trade unions in one establishment was of any benefit to the firm and its workers. I asked them if such a situation would not lead to bankruptcies, catastrophes and the failure of companies and no independent trade union would be able to defend itself, regardless of the law. The failure of the firm is the failure of the workers and their trade union. And that too is my answer to your question.

Charles Gans, AP: I would like to ask the same question in a more concrete manner. You said that the OPZZ now has more than a million members which means that there are still millions of workers who belong to no union. It also seems true that in some factories and enterprises, less than 50 percent of employees are involved in union activity. In such establishments, should not the unorganized employees be allowed to

form their own independent unions to represent the worker majority and could such a union representing at least 50 percent of the workers not be called Solidarity or any other such name?

Alfred Miodowicz: We have examples that there are unions other than the OPZZ. One such example is at Ostaszew where there is a large machine works producing clutches. The trade union is not part of a superior organization. We have excellent contact with this union. We disagree with some of its methods but that is always a matter that can be resolved by discussion. This union shows great prudence and excellent tactics in its activities and we will support such unions.

Anna Turska, CHLOPSKA DROGA: The OPZZ should also be the spokesman for the small professional group constituted by journalists. We have for several years been working on our union system, the debates continue and still nothing has been done. Journalists say that this is the fault of OPZZ which wants to put a more important profession ahead of us. We received modest pay raises this year but our union organization is still out in left field. Can you deny that?

Alfred Miodowicz: No, I cannot. I think that is a matter to be settled by the firm. Since the firm which in this case is your federation, is in such a poor state, it is no surprise that there will be no collective system. Elect new people to your federation!

Teresa Grabczyńska, RYBUNA LUDU: I have a question about money. Enterprises and self-reliance are now the fashion. Trade unions naturally spend their money but do they think about earning any?

Alfred Miodowicz: They are forced to continually earn money and improve their economic activity. OPZZ dues are one zloty per member and that amounts to 7 million zlotys but not everyone is in our structure. What sort of economic activity are we involved in? We have a publishing house, the Trade Unions Publications Institute, which produces income for us. We participate in many partnerships such as construction enterprises in Krakow, Wroclaw and Warsaw. We are partners in a firm that produces plaster construction elements. On the OPZZ's initiative, the "Promotor" Economic Initiatives Association was registered. We want to promote various forms of socialist enterprise which would also give us an opportunity to procure financial resources. At the present time, we are being unusually thrifty. Many trade unions at places of employment also have well-developed economic activity. The unions at the Lenin Steel Works operate cinder tips and garbage waste heaps and this gives them millions of zlotys every year. They are making money at Katowice Steel Works and the Glogow Steel Works. The same can be said about the chemical industry, light industry, etc. To put it simply, without economic activity, the trade unions will be very limited in their functions and union dues do not provide enough income to do anything.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: If I may, I would like to ask you in very general terms about cooperation with the government. What is your opinion?

Alfred Miodowicz: Cooperation with the government is cooperation between partners who often have other options and a different point of view. The government is appointed by the Sejm and is responsible for the condition of the state, that of society and the security of the nation. Trade unions are responsible for realizing the resolutions of their congress. And the congress resolutions remind us that, according to the trade union law, the unions exist to protect the interests of working people. The working people's interests cannot be protected blindly and therefore at any price. We must always remember that a working person must have a place of work because as soon as he loses it, he has lost everything. This concern for workers is also a concern for firms.

Ryszard Biskup, SLOWO LUDU: We are talking a year after the congress and I think that this is another subject we should discuss. I have three questions and all of them concern the congress. The first one is that I am curious how far the congress resolutions have been realized and which of these resolutions does the OPZZ consider its most important task? My second question is connected with the fairly controversial issue of OPZZ delegations and especially their trips to China and North Korea. I would like to ask how the union movement has been helped by these trips. My third question concerns the report and elections campaigns in the voivodship trade union confederations [WPZZ]. Even the very even-handed and objective reports published in ZWIAZKO-WIEC show that the regional trade union structures have lost much of their authority. The situation has reached the point at which in one place delegates were gathered twice because there was no quorum, at another, no more meetings were held and at still another, it turned out to be the case that the WPZZ had not passed a single resolution nor set up any commissions. Does the OPZZ know about this and what sort of actions were taken to stop such superficial activity, such fictitious unionism?

Alfred Miodowicz: Thank you very much. You have organized your questions so clearly that Colleague Martyniuk will answer the first, Colleague Jurek will handle the second and I will take the third.

Waclaw Martyniuk, OPZZ: I would like to answer very briefly. The first issue: the law on unions with full instrumentation and the possibility of collective bargaining. At the 17 December meetings of the WPZZ, we decided that the bill on in-house wage systems adhered to the concepts of the union movement. The next issue: the law on the social and housing fund with full instrumentation. I regard this to be the instrumentation of all executive acts. The next issue and the chief task we were set by the congress is maintaining our standard of living. In spite of enormous price increases, we can today still say that our standard of living has been maintained up to

the third quarter of this year. Another point is the opposition to the 17 March 1987 price increases in the name of maintaining our standard of living. I would like to remind you of the 17 March 1987 announcement. A key issue that we have not propagandized because it was conceptual in nature and not a substantial one for everyone was the preparation and publication of our alternative concept for realization of economic reform. This alternative of ours showed a different and union-oriented point of view on our economy and was a major factor in accelerating the work on the second stage of economic reform.

Alfred Miodowicz: The WPZZ. Let me return to the situation that occurred when the trade union law was passed and when the first new unions were being formed. The membership grew, quite rapidly in some places like the Ostrowiec Steel Works and much slower in the case of the Lenin Steel Works. In the mining and heavy industries, the membership grew very quickly. People began to wonder how to organize the higher union organizations and there were two choices. One was a regional structure and the other was a branch structure. The branch structure was the one chosen. Who were the first to decide? The first ones were the steel workers who before the law received the approval of the Council of State to form the Federation of Steel Industry Trade Unions. In Bytom, we elected our representatives. We decided to call the organization a confederation because the OPZZ is something more than that and is therefore a representative body. At that time, there was much discussion about what we should do with regional representation and that issue was fortunately never finally resolved. These structures were questioned a great deal. Many union members feared a return to the old structures and methods. They also feared that the unions might be used to do the party's work among the masses rather than follow the directives of the 10th PZPR Plenum and the 10th PZPR Congress. These fears led to much doubt and reluctance. The WPZZ gained its ground from the first meeting in Bytom to the First OPZZ Congress. However, this is a poorly-instrumented structure. Let me point out that at best, the WPZZ has only two or three full-time employees and almost no money. For that reason, I am surprised that we stumble as little as we do. It is significant that there is a good social activist concerned about what it is doing in its region and city. Thanks to that, nearly all of our reports and elections conferences are successful and inexpensive.

Wojciech Sierakowski, GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI: If we look at what is presently happening around the world, it is easy to see that various countries are emerging from their crises and making faster progress at the expense of their own people. The trade unions of many countries are very often ineffective and passive. At this time, our country and nation faces a very dramatic choice of direction. The crisis continues to be very burdensome. Meanwhile, all of us hope that we will get by without too much deprivation. I think that we cannot count on that and that we have a great deal we have to give up before

we overcome the crisis. I also think that the trade unions and their OPZZ representation will have to take a position similar to that of other unions who have given in to their members' employers. Are you prepared to do that and what is your attitude toward such a possibility?

**Alfred Miodowicz:** I have the greatest sense of reservation about the lack of a thrift system. We must conserve materials and fuel rather than make miners work on Saturdays and probably even Sundays in a few years.

If we were to institute a motivational system would that not produce smaller work teams that work more efficiently and produce more? All that is required is better organization of work. That is why the unions do not want to discuss work competition because there is no way of improving what is already bad. The bad things, at least those in housing construction, must be done away with rather than improved. People say that we must improve our housing policy but that is not true because what we need is another option. We must resolve the matter in a totally different way. Totally different! We must start by demonopolizing firms, give people a chance, give construction lots for almost nothing and provide a lot of credit and access to materials. We have discussed this for three years and there is no other way out of the problem.

12261

## YUGOSLAVIA

### Extensive Interview With Assembly Delegate Grabar

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[Interview with Zlatko Grabar, electrical engineer employed at "Rade Koncar" and delegate in the SFRY Assembly, by Zdravko Milinovic and Srdjan Spanovic]

[Text] Electrical engineer employed at "Rade Koncar," one of the youngest delegates in the SFRY Assembly, the lad who has proposed abolishing the Council of the Federation and the Law on Associated Labor, talks with POLET about the manipulation that goes on in the benches of the Assembly, the real centers of political power, discreditation of those who "talk too much," and about how he does not know how and why he was nominated and elected as a delegate to the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly.

**POLET:** The proposal to abolish the Council of the Federation was presented in a meeting of the Committee for Labor, Health, and Social Welfare Policy of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly during debate of the constitutional amendments resounded like a bolt from the blue. Why is that? How is it that we heard of you only in connection with that initiative?

**Grabar:** Unfortunately, that is the truth. All of what I had to say in discussion and my initiative on a whole number of major problems taken up both in the meetings of the Committee and also in the Assembly itself went more or less unnoticed. I would mention only the Anti-Inflation Program, the Law on Associated Labor, the Resolution...but it was only this that caused an uproar. For me there are far more important problems in this society which are in need of urgent resolution so that we can forget as soon as possible the time of stagnation and indeed even of going backwards. In the sea of problems which surround us it is normal for me to be thinking about all the possible causes which brought about that state of affairs. One of the causes is certainly our overorganized system, which makes it possible for institutions to exist which are an end in themselves. I noted several institutions in the system which I feel to be unnecessary, and one of them was the Council of the Federation and the corresponding councils of the republics and provinces. It is the right occasion now that the Constitution is being amended to settle this, since those institutions have been defined in the articles of the Constitution.

**POLET:** Why in your opinion is the Council unnecessary?

**Grabar:** When the Constitution was adopted, the Council of the Federation was conceived, as I see it, as a kind of "council of wise men," or, put better, as a gathering of specialists from various areas of work who from the independent position afforded them by the Constitution and free of the burden of day-to-day politics, they would help the government, above all with their knowledge and experience both under normal conditions and also under those of a crisis. That is certainly not what the Council is today, nor has it ever been that. I am afraid that it never will be if it remains the way it was conceived. It has become an institution of "former" more or less successful politicians, an institution without any influence whatsoever, lacking all obligations, but at the same time it has quite a few privileges in relative terms. At a time when every dinar should be optimally used for the purpose of development, the latter is particularly disturbing. The funds which are spent from the budget of the Federation and the republics and provinces for their trips, since they all have free travel in the SFRY by every means of transportation, and the funds for professional services, and the chauffeurs...are not so terribly large compared to other inefficiencies. Nevertheless, by doing away with a useless institution at the level of the Federation and the republics and provinces we can initiate a process at all levels to reexamine the functionality of all the system's institutions. Aside from that there are also the psychological benefits.

**POLET:** Before you took that initiative, you probably looked into how the Council was functioning, what the members of the Council were doing and what they actually could do in the present constellation of political forces and relations?



Grabar: Some people say that it is going too far to classify this institution among the so-called alienated centers of political power, but the case of Hakija Pozderac, who also was a member of the Council of the Federation, has shown that there is something even to this. Actually, it is a question of power which many of them have not let slip from their hands since back in the time when they were active in the most responsible positions in their respective republics and provinces or in the Federation. In the Council itself they do practically nothing or very little. Quite a few do not come to the meetings at all, some are writing their memoirs, others read various materials, some just stop by from time to time, and some, like all retired people, just chat and drink coffee. I think the latter make up the largest group. Before I made this "heretical" demand in the Assembly, the meetings were very rare, once a year, when they would listen to a report from some fairly important politician, and they would discuss this among themselves, since their stand never reached the benches of the Assembly, although that would be logical if they wanted to provide some "advice." Since I took my initiative they have met two or three times, but the scenario is the same. Of course, the same also applies to the councils in the republics and provinces, which also have been meeting more and more frequently recently, presumably in order to prove that they are doing something. But actually they have no influence whatsoever. If we are going to do what we say, then in the direction of degovernmentalization of political decisionmaking and freeing ourselves of the cumbersome and expensive government apparatus, the Council of the Federation should be abolished, especially when it is what it obviously is.

POLET: Doesn't it seem to you that actually the Council has a far more important function in the processes of personnel changes and bringing younger people into the leadership. That is, it is well-known how difficult it is for some people to realize that in the higher circles the burden of years brings a time for withdrawing from the leadership, brings a time for young and probably more capable people. How are the members of the Council actually designated?

Grabar: They are elected in the assemblies, but it is clear that it is done by the old rule that it is easiest to remove someone who is bothersome by promoting him. This does not, of course, apply in all cases. I agree that "advisory assistance" is necessary, but it should be organized by subject matter, around individual problems, and with people who can help and know how to help—from politicians to scientists and the best artists. At the same time, all retired leaders need not be in the Council of the Federation if they want to do some work. We have councils both in the republics and in the provinces as well as in the Federation: for instance, the Council for Problems of the Social System, councils which are specialized bodies, which offer their opinion, and which are respected, and all those people could operate through them.

POLET: Since you made that proposal there has been a scramble among journalists to get to you, a new scandal seemed to be in the offing, and BORBA even conducted a poll that included the question: "What do you think about Zlatko Grabar's proposal?" What remarks have been made by the delegates and the specialized staff services of the Assembly? Were there objections or criticism?

Grabar: Most people gave me support in my efforts. I have heard from circles around the Council of the Federation and from members of the Council themselves that they call me the "young pup" who does not understand the essential nature of that institution; they have been mentioning examples from ancient Rome where Caesar—when he lost a battle—would put old soldiers in key positions in order to take the burden of the fighting. All of this was associated with "attacks" on old revolutionaries and so on. But that does not bother me, since everyone defends himself when his vested positions are threatened.

POLET: They refer to delegates who put similar questions or take such initiatives as snipers. Do you feel yourself to be a sniper?

Grabar: No, neither a sniper nor a cock that crowed too early. It is probably clear to everyone that these questions are not the essence of our problems, but the chain always breaks at the weakest link. Thus attention is perhaps being directed more to the consequences than to the causes, since the "bombastic" is always fascinating.

It would not be possible to put such questions if it were not for the ignorance about the entirety of the far more grave and important problems of society. Then they would be put by snipers scratching the surface, and they would soon fall silent.

In SR Croatia, which I represent as a delegate, there is ferment around a set of fresh ideas aimed at optimizing the system, at affirming market laws in the economy, at the humanization of society, at the functioning of an efficient government....

One of the vehicles and initiators of such ideas has been the Croatian youth organization, on whose program I myself have been working as a member of its very top leadership.

Nevertheless, I feel isolated sometimes in the SFRY Assembly, since it is always difficult to obtain support in public for such things. You get a pat on the shoulder when the meeting is in recess, but silence reigns when you take the floor. It was much like that when I was the only one to oppose amendments to the Law on Associated Labor. I feel that the Law on Associated Labor should not be amended, but repealed, since it is the basis of the consensus economy which has in fact brought us where we are now, and I think that this "worker law" of ours is hampering the economy in its development,

which we spend so much time talking about. Economic units should be given autonomy in the conduct of their business. And the kind of independence which affords the possibility of choice is not prescribed.

POLET: What about the people who sit in the benches of the Assembly, who raise the hands when there is a vote and positions are taken, but do not take part in anything?

Grabar: Unfortunately, there are delegates who do not utter a word from the time they take office even in the working bodies of the Assembly.

POLET: What is the problem? Does it lie in those delegates, those who function in the Assembly as voters, or in the system, the mechanism which brought them to the benches of the Assembly?

Grabar: It certainly lies in the system. In the electoral system, as a matter of fact in the mechanisms of the delegate system in which consideration is paid to quotas, to forms, and so on. Thus ability, intelligence, and decisiveness are not emphasized.

POLET: How were you elected as a delegate in the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly?

Grabar: I do not know!

POLET: How is it that you do not know?

Grabar: I simply do not know how I "slipped through." Perhaps the structure liked my name and there was some quota. A youth official in Zagreb at the time came to me and told me to write my biography and said that they would write a reference from the youth organization. Then they got me confirmed in all the assemblies of the optinas; that is, I received enough votes there to get by on the extended slate. So, I got into the Assembly benches by a fluke.

POLET: What is your comment on the response of Branko Mikulic, chairman of the FEC, to the question of the delegate about what and who is hampering the government in its effort?

Grabar: "You ask me, and I will put the same question to you." That would be my comment. The delegate asks him, and he asks the entire world. But there is nothing new in that. That is the way it will be until we have an efficient and lawful government which knows the limits of its power, but also knows its responsibility without the intertwining and meddling of parallel or oblique political structures.

POLET: Where do you see the causes of what amounts to a blockade in decisionmaking, and why are vague responses made to delegate questions and initiatives? In both cases is it a question of the professional incompetence of the federal administration, a lack of political

will, or a lack of political power, and in the end is it necessary, as some people say, to transfer some of the powers from the republics to the Federation?

Grabar: I think this is a complex problem. First we need to revise relations between the legislative and executive branches of government. Here I am referring above all to their separateness, and, of course, I am also thinking about and defining the institution of responsibility. There is also a lack of professional competence. Often the laws and measures reach the delegates in the benches without having received the best professional preparation, analyses of the situation are lacking, the consequences have not been examined, and this then creates additional problems when they are debated. We should never forget that all social problems are reflected in the Assembly as elsewhere. The delegates work under various pressures "from outside," since it is not the same thing when "someone" has decided "something" on a question, but the FEC is responsible for this, a body which recently has often "reconciled" positions in other bodies and entities outside the Assembly system, although it is the executive body of the Assembly. To be specific, importance is given to what is said in advance by the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and the SFRY State Presidency. It thus turns out that politics dominates the government or that the FEC is doing what politics "would like."

POLET: If your assessments are accurate, hasn't then the FEC, under the pressure of the crisis and the need to get out of it as soon as possible no matter what, acted pragmatically and turned toward the one who has the real power rather than to the one who ought to be making decisions under the Constitution, that is, to the Yugoslav Assembly?

Grabar: Clear as day! The reaction of the FEC shows precisely where the power is centered. Here the role of the party is paramount. Here is an example. When I asked who received the Anti-Inflation Program at what point in time, I ascertained that it first went into the hands of the sociopolitical organizations. I received it earlier in Zagreb as a member of the Presidium of the Croatian Republic Youth Conference than as a delegate in the Yugoslav Assembly. So, delegates received material which had already been fine-combed and discussed, and at the point when it is debated, when decisions have to be made on it, it is difficult for them to escape the impression that someone has been behind it all the while and that it is simply incontestable, that everything has already been agreed on and that the FEC already knows the result of the debate. This has in fact been openly stated in the Assembly when debates were under way, but at that time there were no members of the State Presidency in the Assembly nor the top people of the FEC. And what then happens? The Assembly adopts the Program and becomes responsible for it, and those who "ironed it out" are not responsible for it. They haggle over it, or Mikulic himself admitted when he talked about adoption of the Resolution, they negotiate, they

push for their own positions, they conclude compromises, but formally, it is we the delegates in the Assembly that stand behind everything.

**POLET:** The FEC is now midway in its term of office and there probably will be debates about the results during those 2 years. What is your opinion, should something be changed?

**Grabar:** There should be changes, that is certain, but they should have come long ago. As soon as the first Resolution failed to be carried out there should have been an "overhaul," and resignations should have been submitted. I think that this is now an inevitability. In other countries the government would have fallen long ago. Just recall the Italian example a few days ago.

**POLET:** It is well-known that a mountain of material is heaped on the delegates. How do you get your bearings and do you manage to prepare yourself for meetings?

**Grabar:** I do not manage to prepare myself for all the points on the agenda. I prepare myself only for those which interest me or those which are the most important issues or those where I know I can contribute. It is interesting to see the growth in the number of documents delivered to the delegates from year to year. There are figures to the effect that during the term of office from 1978 to 1982 there were 580 items on the agenda in the Yugoslav Assembly, 139 laws were passed, 39 percent of them in urgent, that is, abbreviated, proceedings. During the next term of office, from 1982 to 1986, there were 664 items on the agenda, 211 laws were passed, 45 percent of them in urgent proceedings. When a law is passed in urgent proceedings, the documents or the bill itself are placed on the desks of the delegates immediately before the session begins, and you have no opportunity to consult with anyone, not even with your own constituency, or the law is enacted not in two or three phases, as has been prescribed, but in one. Last year there were 263 points on the agenda, and on the basis of the growth rate in previous terms of office, we can assume without much chance of error that by the end of the term of office of this delegate convocation there will be more than 1,000 points on the agenda. Some 66 laws have been passed, 56 percent of them in urgent proceedings. That is, more than half of last year's changes in legislation were adopted in urgent or abbreviated proceedings. That means that we as delegates received the bills immediately before the session began and we have little chance of consulting with anyone, much less our constituency. This is a total degradation of the delegate system. What is still worse, it is a degradation of democratic principle, indeed those very basic principles we all swear to. The opinion that the Assembly is only a voting machine is thus fully realized. We have been placed in a role of merely verifying and then afterward someone is able to call us to account. Last year we received 106 kg of material for meetings. If we want to make a precise calculation, that is some 300 grams a day. It is simply not possible to read all that. What is more, there were 21

sessions of the Federal Chamber and 22 sessions of the Committee for Labor, Health, and Social Welfare Policy of the Assembly of which I am a member. I have not counted the items on the agenda of the Committee, but there were far more of them. In the last session of the Federal Chamber there were 25 points on the agenda, the sessions lasted more than 8 hours, and usually they last much longer. It is not possible to follow the proceedings with the required attention all of that time. On occasion we have even been there until midnight.

**POLET:** Does a person feel manipulated when this is constantly repeated, when inexhaustible agendas are imposed, and important things are rushed past the delegates without giving them even time to blink?

**Grabar:** Often people put the question of who is exhausting whom here. We wonder whether this is deliberate.

Everything is done under the pressure that every law has key importance, that if we do not pass it, we are responsible for the situation that results. It is interesting that the delegate bodies are always short of time, but everyone up to that point has had plenty of time. In the last session of the Federal Chamber we actually debated this and took a firm position, of course, I wonder how firm any decision of ours can be, to the effect that we will not adopt a single proposal for urgent proceedings without presentation of the arguments as to the urgency. Up to now we have even been doing that, and by so doing we have very flagrantly violated the Operating Procedure in the Assembly. We adopted the Anti-Inflation Program, for example, without even knowing what was hidden behind it. The very moment we passed it, bills marked "state secret" were placed on our desks. To be sure, there were rumors in the halls that there would be laws following the Anti-Inflation Program, but their content was not known.

**POLET:** Judging by how they have accused you of being against the old guard of politicians, recently they might also have described you as an opponent of Tito's Collected Works!?

**Grabar:** When the federal budget was being adopted, certain line items were debated. I noted in the proposed budget that we are financing hunting grounds which serve as entertainment purposes for federal bodies and agencies, and I advocated that those hunting preserves be organized so that a certain economic gain could be realized from them rather than for us to cofinance them while some people hunt there "for free." No one can convince me that this is not feasible. Aside from certain other objections which I had, I was absolutely unable to agree to appropriation from the federal budget to finance the activities of the LCY Central Committee. I said I could not agree to that, since the LCY is a sociopolitical organization which has its own self-financing from party dues.



Since aside from international cooperation one of the items is financing the LCY School of Politics in Kumrovec, which is the basis for the LCY Central Committee seeking funds from the federal budget, and another was the financing of the Collected Works of Comrade Tito, someone could in fact have said that, but even then nothing of the kind was stated officially.

**POLET:** What was the response to your questions and opposition to the proposed budget?

**Grabar:** Very ugly in some places. Some people said that this was the most obvious example that certain delegates from Croatia were putting unimportant questions and holding up agreement on the budget among the republics and provinces in the Federal Assembly. There were even indirect attempts to imply that I was all but attacking the very image of Comrade Tito by the connection with Comrade Tito's Collected Works, which in my opinion are not at issue, although a more suitable method of financing could in fact be found. But it is gratifying to me that some of my suggestions were adopted, and when it comes to the hunting preserves, I am waiting for next year.

**POLET:** You are not a member of the League of Communists. What in your opinion would happen if those people who "do not like you" knew that you are not a member of the League of Communists?

**Grabar:** I do not know. Perhaps they would enroll me in the LC in urgent proceedings and then call me to account under party discipline. That is a joke, of course.

**POLET:** There are not really very many high youth officials who are not members of the party as well. I don't suppose you got into the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Youth League of Croatia by a fluke as you did in the Assembly?

**Grabar:** No, I didn't. The question of whether someone is a member of the party or not is not posed in that leadership. That is fully understandable in view of the character of the youth organization. No one has ever made that an obstacle for me, except that for a long time now the youth organization has put me up for membership in the League of Communists and in jest they call me a sympathizer.

07045

#### **Social Disintegration Blamed on 1974 Constitution**

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in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 88 pp 9-11

[Article by Radoslav Stojanovic: "For Reunification?"]

[Text] It is almost unnecessary to say that amendments changing many legal/technical solutions in the 1974 Constitution cannot eliminate the shortcomings of the

systemic solutions which that constitution prescribes. The basic weakness of the 1974 constitutional solutions is precisely the fact that they conflict with the fundamental principles of the organization of a system. If we bear in mind the simplest definitions, according to which a system is everything that constitutes a whole, it is obvious that Yugoslavia remains more of a confederation than a federation, even after the adoption of these amendments. Since we know that a confederation is not a state entity, but rather an alliance of independent states, then it is clear that Yugoslavia is not an entity and that so organized, it cannot function as a system.

Any system must have a decision-making center, while the hierarchical relationship between the system and the subsystems (the parts and elements of the system) should be decentralized and have built-in regulators that will prevent an increase in entropy. In order for it to function as such, there must be an unhindered bidirectional flow of information, from the top to the bottom and vice versa. Confederate decision-making at the federal level is not decision-making at the center of the system, since the decisions are made at the centers of the subsystems, and so it is only by agreement among all the choices (the decisions adopted in the subsystems) that a decision, which is essentially a contract, can be adopted. Even the Constitution itself is essentially a contract, because it is adopted and changed by agreement among the choices of all those participating in it. It is for that reason that Yugoslavia is essentially more of a confederation, even though formally it is a federation. The difference between political decisions and treaties is precisely that the former are adopted by a majority, while the latter are adopted by an agreement among all the contracting parties.

With these amendments, the hierarchical principle is being restored to the Yugoslav constitutional system in a very complicated and therefore inefficient way. Amendment XXX deals with the implementation of federal laws and other regulations. It is interesting that after the unanimous adoption of most laws (and other decisions), the federation, according to the 1974 Constitution, does not have the right to execute them directly, and instead, the federal units have that right. This abolishes the hierarchical principle that has existed in the state as long as the state itself has existed.

Amendment XXX changes all of this in a way that has to produce slowness and inefficiency. Specifically, the federal bodies must first give "binding instructions for their implementation." Then, the federal bodies will "warn the bodies of the federal units" if they do not implement federal laws and other acts. If the federal units still do not carry out federal decisions, in spite of the instructions and warnings, the Federal Executive Council (FEC) will propose to the SFRY Assembly that the assemblies of the republics and provinces be asked "to take measures to ensure the implementation of the federal law... and can... (this means that it does not have to—author's comment) propose that the competent body... or

official... be held accountable." After all of this, the FEC can finally implement the federal decisions. This is obviously a lengthy procedure. It is well known that many decisions have to be carried out immediately, and otherwise damage can be done. Who is responsible, how, and to whom, for damage occurring in this way? This amendment does not say.

#### Anarchical System

The 1974 Constitution did not introduce decentralization, but rather the disintegration of Yugoslavia as a system. The powers of the federal units are such that they are sovereign in decision-making in the federation. Because they make decisions themselves, they are not even interested in informing the federal decision-making center of facts that are vital to its own decision-making. Facts which are vital to the interests of other federal units, however, are not even relevant here, because a veto exists. The interdependence of the federal units is thus ignored, but a system cannot survive without interdependence. This results in an interruption of the circular flow of information, and necessarily increases the entropy of the system.

The idea of the decentralization of a system is that a decentralized body sends the decision-making center facts from its own practical experience, facts which are vital to it. The decision-making center correlates facts from all parts of the system, and they are thus balanced out, with interdependent interests given the necessary respect. If a final decision reaches the decision-making center, however (and this itself is a contradiction), then it is not possible to accept facts from others if they differ from the decision that has been "made." Then there is negotiation, just as in international relations, in which, as we know, issues of prestige and power frequently play a greater role than rational judgments. The result of such negotiation, as a rule, is a compromise, through which, as we know, the most powerful gain the most. Thus, relations of power, a balance of forces, coalitions, and cooperation arise, on one hand, and conflicts, on the other. Theory calls this an "anarchic system." Its basic characteristic is that selfish interests lead to the use of all possible means of fulfilling them. All possible means! We probably know what that means.

The third major problem that these amendments do not solve is the issue of accountability as a necessary regulating factor in the functioning of the system. Direct elections and a recall mechanism are not being introduced, but that is the essential minimum for democratization of the system. Without democratic institutions, there can be no accountability. Unless this issue is resolved, the political establishment and the well-known cadre manipulations, which—I think this is clear to everyone—have led socialism into a deep crisis, will still remain. The issue of the independence of the courts has not even been touched upon. The assembly system (legislative authority) is insufficiently specified, along with the role and position of the State Presidency. All in

all, these amendments do not represent progress in the democratization of the Yugoslav state, and without it we cannot expect to avoid the further bureaucratization of government and the strengthening of its power at the expense of self-management, i.e., the autonomous functioning of society without state interference.

On the other hand, the powers of the Federation are being expanded. This is particularly true of the tax system, the strategy for technological development, and the modest jurisdiction over education policy. This expansion of powers, however, in my opinion could complicate the resolution of these vital issues even more, because decisions on them are made by consensus (Amendment XXXIII, paragraph 5). Since this method of decision-making is slow, inefficient, and completely uncertain with respect to interests and possible majorities (for instance, 7 against 1), it would be better for these issues to continue to remain under the jurisdiction of the federal units, and for each of the latter to resolve them in accordance with its own interests and capabilities, and establish ties by mutual agreement on the basis of interdependent interests.

#### A Decision Does Not Turn Wood Into Iron

The proposed amendments affect only a few legal/technical issues of the functioning of the self-management system, without a clear distinction between the state and self-management. In my opinion, this does not resolve the vital relationship between self-management and state regulation. It will continue to maintain a situation in which there has been, in the past, too much or too little overlapping jurisdiction in the functioning of both.

I cannot see how these amendments can reduce the normative function of the state to a reasonable level in order to avoid suppressing self-management. The past excessive normativization of social life has resulted in the ineffectiveness of normative acts. It can be even more inconvenient, however.

No matter how wisely it was conducted, it will be difficult for the normativization of social processes to free itself from hypertrophy. Since a normative approach always yields "what should be," no matter how wisely one has relied upon "what is," it is impossible, especially in hypertrophied normativization, to avoid the voluntarism of those who decide what "should be." It has to be clear that people decide what "is" in society on the basis of empirical experience, and so a heuristic approach is inevitable. If the responsibility of the decision-makers in the decision-making process is minimal or nonexistent, then great mistakes are possible, since the door is wide open to voluntarism. "The federation is what the republics and provinces agree on." Unfortunately, a decision cannot turn wood into iron. In order to avoid or reduce the mistakes of voluntarism, in addition to clearly and firmly established responsibility, it is essential to increase the autonomy of society, its self-organization and self-regulation through self-management.

Since life itself imposes needs, they will best be resolved where they arise. State authority is essential only in order to coordinate different social interests, and to control and prevent abuses and pathological phenomena.

Self-management, of course, is the great chance for socialism and the further development of society in general. This is especially the case, however, for socialism in which a hypertrophied state has suppressed the autonomy of society. Since communist parties have merged with the state, a party state has arisen. In this way the party lost its guiding role, and instead of being the vanguard of the movement became the vanguard of the state. It had to remain the guiding force of the movement, and as such carry forward the autonomous development of society without interference from state authority.

Through its merger with the authorities, society lost any possibility of self-management. With total centralization and ideological monolithism, any self-creativity is denied to society. The authorities have thus become further and further removed from society, turning into a ruling minority that cannot be responsible to anyone except itself. With the capability of self-perpetuation, nepotism came in through a wide open door: in some countries, quite openly (Romania and North Korea), and in others, nepotism based on family ties (forgive the tautology) is replaced by a grasping nepotism based on sympathies, friendship, being from the same region...

#### Separating the State from Self-Management

Self-management was able to unravel this knot and restore the autonomous functioning of society without a deadly centralized and all-encompassing authority. In order to achieve this, it is essential that the scope of the jurisdiction of state authority be therefore separated from the jurisdiction of self-management. Furthermore, it is essential that the party abandon its monopoly over state authority and grow into a democratically organized social force.

I am free to state my opinion on how we can achieve this:

1. The state authority must act only on the basis of and within the framework of its legal powers.
2. In order to achieve this, it is essential to separate authority into legislative, executive, and judicial authority. These authorities would be independent in their capacity for mutual control.
3. Such a state authority should be responsible to society. A responsible authority is one that is elected and replaced through democratic elections.
4. In order to achieve this, the Constitution and the laws must guarantee human rights at the level achieved in the development of civilization.

5. State intervention in the self-management system acts as an automatic regulator in the following areas:

- a. it determines the legal basis of social ownership and its protection;
- b. it establishes the framework of the planned development of society as a whole;
- c. it controls the fulfillment of planned obligations;
- d. through financial policy, it prevents the pathological phenomena of all types of egotism and exploitation;
- e. it prevents abuses of the autonomous activity of self-management;
- f. through social policy, it moderates or reduces social differences;
- g. through laws, it regulates a common market;
- h. it ensures international protection (economic and political) for its planned tasks of social development.

8. Self-management is implemented in all areas of social life in accordance with needs and goals. In order to achieve this, the following would be necessary:

- a. the democratic election and recall of officials of self-managing organizations;
- b. those elected must be accountable to the self-managers for their work;
- c. the self-managers bear the consequences of their work.

Under such conditions, with people extensively linked by their interests, the state authority should not interfere with the autonomous functioning of society, without which there can be no progressive development. Understandably, these solutions are only the basic elements of the complex organization of society, especially in regard to the management of the complex society system. Such a mechanism can be successfully built only through the cooperation of multidisciplinary experts.

There is an acceptable system for the organization of self-management in the present Constitution. There are also many contradictions, however, and especially in the process of association, because the present structure accelerates disintegration and not integration processes. Likewise, the intervention of the authorities in the affairs of self-management is not precisely specified, and so voluntaristic regulations prevent the realization of the responsibility of self-managers for their work. This insufficient delineation of jurisdiction indicates the possibility of a large role for the state in the self-management system, a role which in practice rules out the autonomy



of self-management. If one adds to this the party monopoly in the cadre policy of self-management organizations, it is quite clear that self-management has not been implemented as was necessary in a society that does not exist for the sake of authority.

#### **Solution Is Maximum Decentralization**

Since the Yugoslav state has passed through almost all forms of state system, from prewar unitarism, through federal centralism until 1963, and since then relatively decentralized federalism, all the way up to a de facto confederation since 1971, it is not simple to make proposals for any new system for the federation, especially if one is well aware that all of these forms did not essentially contribute to surmounting the almost continual social crisis and very serious interethnic disputes and conflicts.

We live, however, in this country and in a very complex international environment, and so we must responsibly do everything possible to organize a system that would make that life much more acceptable. I am therefore inclined to believe that the solution would be maximum decentralization, which has never been carried out before. Such a decentralization would have only two limitations: the international functioning of the state and the internal functioning of the system. In terms of constitutional law, this could be achieved by specifying the federation's jurisdiction in the following areas:

1. international relations;
2. national defense;
3. finance;
4. a unified market.

The first and second are classic attributes of the state, and it is not possible to agree on anything different without calling into question the statehood of Yugoslavia, with all the international and domestic consequences of this.

The third is the basis for the economic functioning of the state, without which one cannot even conceive of the first two jurisdictions or a unified market.

A unified market implies a very complex combination of legislative interventions. Supranational jurisdiction in this area, however, is by no means a unitaristic solution. The European Economic Community adopts decisions by a majority of votes on issues related to the Common Market. As we know, that community is not a state, much less a unitaristic one!

Decisions on all issues under the jurisdiction of the federation are made by a majority of votes (simple or modified) and are carried out directly by federal bodies with rational cooperation and assistance from the bodies of the federal units.

Serbia, as a "complex" republic, expands its jurisdiction to the economy, culture, and education. The Serbian nation, or at least the majority of it, must ensure the unity of the economic, cultural, and educational systems. That is the minimum resulting from the very nature of the nation as a modern community of people.

If unanimity, under present conditions, cannot bring a rational decision on restructuring the federation, it is possible for all of the republics to remain in a confederate community in accordance with the "basic principles" of the 1974 Constitution.

When I say "republic," I mean Serbia as a whole (federally organized), having confederate relationships with the other republics of Yugoslavia.

I believe that this solution is also possible for the other republics. Specifically, those which support a referendum would be mutually linked by federal ties and would constitute a federation entering into confederate relationships with the republics supporting a confederation. This would be a completely new solution, previously unknown in the history of the state. It does not, however, conflict with the theory of the state or constitutional law. A federation is a state, and a confederation is an alliance of states. It is thus possible for a federation, as a state, to enter into a confederation with other states.

#### **Referendum Is a Legitimate Means**

It is difficult to assume that the decision-making mechanism (unanimity) can be used to reach a decision on changes that would reduce the sovereign power of those exercising power in the republics and provinces. History does not record anyone giving up power "through discussion and agreement." Power can be gained or lost only through democratic elections—or force. We must proceed from the fact, and be aware, that no state has come apart peacefully. We must be aware of the international environment in the positive and negative sense: 1. Yugoslavia has neighbors which have territorial claims against it; 2. We are in Europe, and the borders of its states are guaranteed by the Helsinki agreements. Any change would necessarily result in the interference of foreign powers in the Yugoslav question. A legitimate and democratic way remains for us to take a sufficiently rational position with respect to the uncertainties of our external surroundings: a referendum.

A referendum or a plebiscite? I think that what it is called is not essential. What is essential is that for the first time the Yugoslav people would for the first time commit themselves to Yugoslavia as a joint state. I know that it is painful to talk this way after so much blood has

been spilled, precisely for Yugoslavia. We must be aware, however, that plebiscitary commitments through bloodshed are not always enough to have them take shape in peacetime, wisely, in a political community of all those comprising it.

It is during the horrors of war that the greatest friendships among people and peoples are born, but also the greatest enmities. When peace comes, new interests arise from the relationships of the soldiers united until yesterday in a joint calvary. Then comes a time when courage and willingness to sacrifice oneself must be replaced by wisdom and willingness to respect the interests of others. So far in history this has best been achieved through a democratic process, with these interests being coordinated by society and by the state.

A democratic decision by the people would have more prospect of achieving a society and a state in which the

political authorities' manipulation of national interests would be minimal. Only the successful functioning of the system for the benefit of society as a whole would rule out such manipulation, because no one could successfully persuade his people that some other people was responsible for the misfortunes they suffered. This would only be a precondition for the prevention of interethnic conflicts.

In time, continual care and wise improvements to the system would contribute more and more to surmounting exclusivism more completely. Western Europe is today a strong argument for this kind of optimism. The Germans and the French, formerly deadly enemies, are together creating united European states. Let us keep this in mind.

9909

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**Deficiencies Noted in Worker Militia Training**  
23000058 East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German  
No 3, Mar 88 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Greater Demands on Militia and Commanders"]

[Text] For 2 years now we in the Emil Woelt workers militia battalion in Jena have adhered to the new competition guideline in our work. What experience have we gained in this period, and what conclusions have we drawn?

It must first be stressed that the guideline is very explicit in its standards for each militiaman, corporal and commander, and poses great demands on the content and organizational conduct of the competition. Applied with circumspection, however, it makes it possible and easier to succeed in fighting for the best results.

At the conclusion of the 1986/87 training session, we figured for the first time the result according to the criteria of the guideline for the movement for excellence. It turned out that of the 156 comrades who had pledged to win the badge of excellence, only 70 met their obligation. An analysis of this result, which is unsatisfactory to us in the militia collectives, showed that it definitely did not result from insufficient operational readiness, the wrong attitude or a lack of capability in the comrades. The "executioner" in this process was the competition for the shooting badge, and the "stumbling block" for it was the examination test. We worked it out very clearly that a "very good" in shooting during training exercises does not guarantee the necessary number of rings for the shooting badge. From this realization we drew the final conclusion that from 1988 on we will take every opportunity for optimal utilization of all preparatory training opportunities.

### Practical Work With the Comrades

However, we must take great pains after each day of training to tell every militiaman factually his ranking in the movement for excellence, which tasks he must solve in the next training sessions and how he can and must behave in his personal preparation for it. In concrete terms, this means that squad and platoon leaders must undertake very exact, individually related work precisely with these comrades in their militia collective. This conclusion naturally applies to those comrades as well who pledged themselves to militia initiatives, whereby the specifics of each obligation must be taken into account.

### More Attention to Militia Initiatives

In the future we must make far better use of militia initiatives. In the last training session we gathered our initial experience. We had to recognize that this new

form of competition was used in a different but formal manner. Therefore, we were faced with the task of talking, before the new training session, with every militiaman about the obligations he can and should take on in order to make a maximum personal contribution toward raising the combat efficiency of his collective. This is precisely where individual political work is worthwhile. It should be contributed primarily by platoon and group leaders, supported by the secretaries of the platoon party groups and by the group agitators. In so doing the links with each comrade's basic organization should always be sought out, in order to achieve consistent behavior in the enterprise and in the militia group.

### Performance Comparisons and Contests

After the most varied conversations with individual militiamen and militia collectives in the battalion, we arrived at the conviction that our members are quite ready to take on responsible and concrete obligations. Everyone is prepared to perform concrete tasks and in this manner document his belief in our GDR and in our determined peace policy. This is unequivocally proved by the results of our analysis of the training in October last year.

It was also important to us to gain experience in how to use an additional form of organizing competition: in holding contests and performance comparisons. We tentatively started this for the first training in 1986 and initially found little response. The first positive experience resulted from shooting with small arms in all units. An actual invitation, information given to each militiaman and a tight organization guarantee keen interest and a genuinely competitive atmosphere, which was stimulated by the fact that the best achievements are evaluated and acknowledged immediately. Many comrades stated at the time: This is how we envision an effective contest, keep up the work. The genuine stimulus promoted performances, the breadth of which we ourselves had not anticipated. That was what made the decision for us. On each day of training at least one contest or one performance comparison is now prepared and held. This project was realized with the leading cadres of the battalion, and we will continue in this way. However, we have drawn a conclusion as a result of analyzing the political training and combat training: Four centrally held competitions and performance comparisons in nearly all units of the battalion can be managed only with difficulty. In the future, we will introduce a balanced relationship between central measures in the battalion and competitions and performance comparisons within the units, thus provoking and utilizing even more ideas and creative activity.

### Open Up Reserves

All told, we can say that in all its diversity the competition contributed to the achievement in 1987 of the best results so far. But this success has not made us blind or



self-sufficient, for in the militia service as well we have to achieve even more, and we do not ignore shortcomings and reserves. This year, we want to open up reserves mainly through even more determined leadership of the competition.

It is our firm intention to reach our high goals in the 35th year of existence of the workers militia; that is what we strive for, and with that we also want to make our contribution to ensure peace and for the benefit of mankind.

11949

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Enterprise Lack of Strategic Planning Decried 2400006dc Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 13 Jan 88 p 18

[Article by Eng Radim Vlcek, ScC, university lecturer, Institute of Economy, Prague: "Are We Lacking Strategic Control?"]

[Text] One of the key problems in the restructuring of our economic mechanism is without any doubt the creation of a new planning system which should provide the basis for our economic development where intensive—rather than extensive—characteristics will prevail. That is not all. The new planning system must also involve division of labor and of forms of work between the center and the enterprise sphere. In this conjunction, in the forefront of our interest appears strategic management of production units as a solution for the drafting of long- and medium-range economic plans for our enterprises.

This applies to that part in the process of management where, in view of the prognosis for the development of an enterprise, strategic objectives, methods, ways and means of their efficient achievement are set and then, its program is determined for a relatively long period, usually for two, three, and sometimes even five 5-year plans. Therefore, the objective of strategic planning is for the production unit to work already today for the next 15 to 20 years.

#### Advantages of Those Who Are Prepared

As a matter of fact, it may be said that the strategy is to shape the future in accordance with our will, but the "will" is not free in the voluntaristic sense; it is strictly scientific, and respects an objective development of production forces and relations. Thus, strategic planning makes it possible to forge forward to the future, with all the advantages and benefits of a well-prepared person.

One of the successful general directors calls this the principle of "the saddled horse." Because of his bravely developed strategic planning which he and his closest colleagues conducted and steadily implemented, he always kept "in the driver" various possible developments of the production units in his charge. Whenever an unexpected situation presented itself, for example, in the form of reduced foreign exchange, urgent demands from a foreign customer, and so on, he was immediately ready to act. He used his planning for a progressive development of techniques and technology of enterprises which very efficiently manufactured products of the best quality in agreement with the interest of our entire society.

I offer this example because—under the conditions of the still prevalent administrative control of the enterprise sphere—the need to process strategic data has not been keenly felt, yet strategic planning was beneficial for our enterprises.

#### Are We Thinking About the Future?

Greater independence and responsibility of our production units, which the restructuring should usher, will necessarily force our enterprises and their managers to think more—and to think more systematically—about the future. However, as it happens in reality, even in this case the consequences of the planned restructuring of our economic mechanism will not be as clear as we have mentioned above, because there is danger that the managers themselves might underestimate the role of strategic planning. After all, in an elective system it may happen that in order to achieve and "affirm" their popularity, they will strive most of all for instant success.

R&D, the structural changes in our economy, international division of labor and socialist integration as the fundamental factors of intensification are those specific phenomena which in the new situation will permeate the production, technical and socioeconomic development of every enterprise. Therefore, we would really underestimate the truly outstanding managers, if we would think that they have decided to develop their production units by other means than by methods of strategic planning. To be sure, they themselves know full well that one strategic decision omitted yesterday cannot be made up by scores of hasty programs of operation.

Therefore, good strategy and its gradual implementation which guarantees an attractive future for all employees of the enterprise will be the most convincing proof of the manager's competence and the basis of his "popularity" in the future. The good reputation of the general director—the author of the "saddled horse" principle—is a convincing proof of that.

The current practice in the implementation of strategic planning has become the topic of a survey conducted in 80 economic production units and enterprises of all vital industrial branches of our national economy. Its results confirmed our assumptions. For instance, only one-sixth of them could say that strategic planning has become an integral part of their managing processes.

The whole labor team should be involved in strategic planning, and managers should play a galvanizing role in it not only by supporting it, but above all, by their vigorous participation. It is worthy of consideration that one-half of the respondents objected that strategic planning is not essential. Inertia of thought which is concerned about the fulfillment of tasks assigned by central administration still acts here as a drawback—as a brake to the process of restructuring of our economic mechanism that has just begun. To be sure, when introducing

the restructuring process, only less than one-third of our production units were motivated by an effort to upgrade the management, and not by the decision issued by a higher authority.

#### Interest and Effort Will Be Decisive

Efficient strategic planning depends on numerous preconditions. Unlike the objectifying character of the economic mechanism, they are quite subjective in their essence. For instance, only less than two-fifths of the respondents expressed satisfaction with a great many methods and methodological processes appropriate for study, and the situation in the information area is even worse. A good, continuously updated information system is an exception—less than 1.5 percent of the responding production units could boast of it! At the same time, barely one-half of our respondents stated that when preparing their reports, they availed themselves of the data and advantages of cooperation with research institutes, universities and theoretical scientific institutions.

By the same token, none of the participants in the survey have fully deployed computer and transmission technology, and less than one-half of them have installed only part of such equipment. I should like to close this less than optimistic overview of the general situation with the observation that only less than one-quarter of them declared that strategic planning has produced very specific positive results.

#### Those in the Defensive Predominate

One of the dominant factors here is the long-range structural development of production programs, the so-called production strategy, because it reflects every consequence of the development of the production base and investments, labor forces and social progress, organization and management, including automated control systems, and so forth. It should aim at a gradual achievement of world standards at least in some branches of production, because only economic organizations with long-range plans, which offer top quality products, are implementing their production strategy in an efficient manner.

What are its current types in terms of our country's production standards? The overwhelming majority of respondents (70 percent) stated that they were using an "offensively defensive" strategy—i.e., that they were trying to gradually decrease the lag of their products behind goods which represent the very top of the pyramid in a given branch. Another 16.3 percent of our respondents answered that they were following a "defensively defensive" strategy. In other words, they admitted an increasing lag behind the top world products. Only 1.7 percent of the enterprises are implementing an "offensively offensive" product strategy, and their edge over other lagging manufacturers in their particular

branch is increasing. The rest, exactly 10 percent, informed that their strategy was "defensively offensive"—i.e., that they are gradually losing their headstart.

#### To Respect Opportunities

What does it mean? The prevalent types of defensive product strategies of our production units obviously stem from the well known characteristics of the current period of our economy. On the one hand, a considerable latitude of the production line in our industry (up to 80 percent of world production) and on the other, the limitations of our R&D base (about 1 percent of the world scale) in fact do not permit any other, more progressive product strategy because (1) offensive type requires absolute—not only relative—inventions and innovations, in other words, inventions and innovations in the form of new, pioneering achievements of creativity mainly of experts in R&D bases.

If we consider our limited resources of raw materials and energy and our still unsatisfactory rate of practical introduction of R&D achievements, then it is even objectively impossible to anticipate and implement a more progressive product strategy in conceptual programs of many of our production units. However, we must recognize the warning that as many as one-sixth of the participants in the survey characterized their current product strategies as increasingly lagging behind the world top! Therefore, in view of the above-mentioned fact, it would be far more effective to weigh the goals of our strategic programs and to adapt them to our current opportunities.

Not all consumers demand products of top world quality only. Flexible trade policies must promptly and carefully assess and determine the most exact spectrum of internal differentiations of needs, from which we then must meet only those standards for which opportunities and resources are available in our economy. This does not necessarily mean "world" products at all, only a high standard of the "covering" for the so-called gaps in production.

For instance, top production of traditional meat grinders was a highly profitable line of products for export for a long time, and even in this era of automatic and computer-controlled kitchen appliances it still is a device of top design. For that reason, this approach should serve as a basis for one of the efficient and rational production strategies whose characteristics and often also economic effects resemble its offensive types.

The survey confirmed another important fact. From the generally respected principle of democratic centralism it follows that many strategic objectives and measures of economic organizations are promoted and ensured by higher agencies. However, this does not mean in the least that they are nothing more than specifications of their



strategy. Nevertheless, it is clear that without a good strategy of the economic center the strategy of the "subordinates" cannot be expected to succeed.

Thus far the standard of strategic planning in our economic production units and enterprises has not been equal to the future demands of the process of full intensification of our economy. Let us prevent any "strategic surprises" by getting today ready for tomorrow.

9004/6091

### **Book on JZD AK Slusovice Details Management Success**

24000086 Prague SVET PRACE in Czech  
14, 21, 28 Mar 88 p 5

[Excerpts from a book on Slusovice to be published later in 1988 by Engr Stanislav Vacha, CSc.: "How They Manage in JZD AK Slusovice"]

[Excerpts] The results of the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice in the field of management are important enough to place the Agrokombinat in the forefront of the CSSR agricultural production as well as the forefront of several branches of industry. The Agrokombinat's results compare favorably with the levels of the foremost world corporations. Its most significant achievements in agriculture and associated production have the following characteristics:

- extraordinary rate of growth in production;
- production oriented aggressively toward the most advanced scientific and technological methods;
- speed and a broad-scope implementation of the R&D in practice;
- high quality parameters of production (high technoeconomic standards of product and technology, high efficiency, high productivity of labor, and high yield);
- large contribution by Slusovice to the development of agricultural production in other enterprises in CSSR and abroad.

### **Results in Agricultural Production**

JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice manages agricultural land of 17 villages; the size of the spread has remained basically unchanged throughout the years. In 1961, the cooperative had 5,520 hectares of agricultural land, in 1985 it was 5,215. Arable land in 1961 was 3,509 hectares and in 1985 it was 3,475.

Despite this fact, in the last 25 years the cooperative has increased the yield of cereals by 300 percent.

Although the cooperative works in unfavorable natural conditions, its yields are substantially above the Czechoslovak national average which in 1984 was 4.80 tons per hectare, while the 1984 national average yields in the most developed countries ranged from 4.65 tons per hectare in Denmark to 6.21 tons per hectare in Great Britain.

The Slusovice experience shows that our socialist agriculture could be the first in the world in terms of yield per hectare.

Slusovice has achieved even better results in the raising of cattle and in milk production. Since 1961 it has increased its average milk yield three-and-one-half times (it was 5,922 liters in 1985) and placed ahead of the most developed capitalist countries (such as Sweden with 5,546 kg/year, USA with 5,844 kg/year, and Denmark with 5,346 kg/year).

The results of plant and animal production at JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice are reflected in the overall volume of gross agricultural production which increased almost by a factor of 7 between 1961 and 1985. With a practically unchanged size of agricultural land area in use, the results show in the gross production yield per hectare. In 1961 the cooperative's gross agricultural production per hectare of land was Kcs 4,951, in 1985 it had reached Kcs 36,537. This represents an almost 8-fold increase. In Czechoslovakia as a whole, the yield was only one-half that of Slusovice.

### **Results in Industrial Production**

The top-of-the-line results in agricultural production entitle JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice to concentrate its activity on branches related to agricultural production.

While the cooperative has succeeded during the past 11 years in roughly doubling its agricultural production, the other production has increased by a factor of 5, and in 1986 reached 94 percent of the gross production at the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice.

Thanks to the development of industrial production, which is based on agriculture and whose primary purpose is to serve agriculture, JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice has become a powerful agro-industrial enterprise with an income of over Kcs 3 billion. Its enterprising potential, its experience with fast and comprehensive introduction of productions incorporating and conditioning the research and development in agriculture and, quite importantly, also its economic power, has enabled the Agrokombinat to assume and to rapidly develop demanding R&D and production programs.

The catalogue of products and services offered by JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice is a voluminous listing of hundreds of products and services with indication of approved prices. The most significant of these products and services may be described as follows:

### Biochemical and Chemical Production

JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice has a years-long tradition in research, development, and production of various biochemical and chemical combinations. The production of the first mineral fodder supplement VITAPOLY-MIN was developed by a Slusovice research team and its production started back in 1971.

JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice is now producing tens of thousands of tons of as many as 35 types of biochemical and chemical products. In 1987 this production volume represented more than Kcs 1.1 billion, which is more than one third of the gross production of the cooperative.

Some of the most advanced herbicides and insecticides and materials for biological environmental protection are being prepared in cooperation with foremost world enterprises for use not only in our agriculture but also for export, primarily to CEMA countries.

### Agricultural Equipment Manufacture

Currently the production of machinery in JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice represents, in terms of its volume, the second largest area of the cooperative's industrial activity. In 1986 it was close to reaching the Kcs one billion mark, and its future growth potential is very high. Slusovice plans the manufacture of such machinery and equipment which the Agrokombinat needs for a highly productive and efficient plant and animal production. Once the Agrokombinat masters the production, it offers the equipment for sale to other users and, usually within a few years, it saturates the Czechoslovak agricultural markets with the urgently needed machinery and tools.

Slusovice is making dozens of different items of equipment of which we can name only a few most significant ones:

The cooperative started the production of Heston pickup bailers and, in cooperation with other enterprises, all necessary lines of equipment associated to pickup bailers. Their production represents an income of Kcs 100-150 million per year. The Agrokombinat has already delivered about 1,600 bailers and within the next few years expects to satisfy the entire Czechoslovak agricultural market.

Within the space of 3 years the cooperative has fully satisfied the nationwide need for the stone pick-up lines (a fork type stone remover). This equipment for removal of stones from the fields represented an income of Kcs 200 million in 1986. The production line is now being closed down.

Of special interest even for the cooperative itself was the manufacture of rotor tillers, a machine necessary for the cooperative's corn breeding program. The need for this piece of equipment in CSSR was also filled within 3 years.

The cooperative has assumed and is actively engaged in the containerization program, established at the request of the Czech Ministry of Agriculture and Foodstuffs. The production of the modified transport vehicles and containers amounted to about Kcs 250 million in 1987.

Other important products of the cooperative, made in response to its own needs and the needs of the CSSR agriculture, are different types of rollers for the preparation of soil by rolling, large 50 and 70 cubic meter vehicles for straw and hay transportation, and two-axle trailers for different uses. The cooperative also manufactures panel construction components for its own use and for other customers, and a number of other machinery and equipment indispensable for its own needs as well as for Czechoslovak agriculture generally.

### Microelectronics

Electronic manufacture in JZD Slusovice has a very young tradition. The cooperative decided to solve the critical shortage of computers, suitable for its own use and that of other agricultural enterprises in the CSSR, at the beginning of the eighties. In 1982 it produced the first 40 personal computers, in 1987 the number was already 4,000 units, and in 1988 40,000.

The volume of computer production and its software brought in an income of Kcs 676.7 million in 1986, and constitutes the third largest production of the cooperative, representing almost one-quarter of its total gross production.

JZD AK Slusovice has become, within the five years since the start of its production, the largest microcomputer manufacturer in the CSSR.

The cooperative aims at development, production, and application of the management computer systems for agricultural production. The goal is to make the least expensive computer with the fastest return on investment (current price for an improving system is about Kcs 200-300,000) furnished with software that would be directly applicable to agricultural enterprises for specific services, capable of operations under agricultural conditions without air conditioning, without special maintenance requirements, etc. (in ensuring services in Slusovice own territory, the requirement is to provide same-day service within a few hours; the Agrokombinat plans to expand this practice to other users within the near future), and with a corresponding performance.

Furthermore, as a producer of personal computers, JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice has the responsibility, in coordination with the South Moravia CPCZ Kraj Committee, to ensure realization of the kraj party undertaking that schools in the kraj get equipped with 14,500 HC 8 computers and 900 GC computers in order to resolve the burning issue of lagging education in this area.

The production of computers in the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice has made possible a rapid development of its management system through the utilization of computers from its own production, something that would not have been possible without them. Up to 1974, the cooperative was using computer equipment of the Holesovice enterprise to do its data processing. In 1974 it set up its own computer MINSK, in 1975 MINSK 22 and in 1980 the RPP 16. In 1982 it started using the TNS computers of its own manufacture, and five years later the cooperative had 150 of them.

#### Foodstuffs Production

Particularly in the last few years, JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice has been developing the industrial processing of agricultural products. Even though this is a relatively recent development and with respect to other industrial productions forms only a small share of the overall production (in 1986 it was about Kcs 27 million, i.e. less than 1 percent of the overall gross production), it is in great demand and helps enrich the foodstuff selection for members of the cooperative and for the Gottwaldov region.

The cooperative is concentrating on processing of milk, from which it makes cheeses, cottage cheese, spreads and yogurts. It makes a wide variety of meat products (head cheese, salami, ham, and 18 different kinds of regional meat products). Also in demand are its bakery products (bread, crumpets, bread sticks, and a regional specialty, the dominik—a smoked sausage baked into a croissant). A large portion of the foodstuffs processing is the production of peeled potatoes for the whole-sale consumers in the Gottwaldov okres (hospitals, schools, large enterprise cafeterias, etc.). The cooperative also sees potential in the processing of apples and other fruits which had fallen from trees for making fruit concentrates for production of fruit drinks for local consumption as well as for export.

#### Construction

The construction division of the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice is not included in the industrial production but is conditioned by its agricultural and industrial production. Exceptionally fast and perfectly coordinated investment activity enabled the cooperative to accomplish its development programs within short deadlines comparable to the world standards and much shorter than those normally encountered in our economy.

The construction as well was marked by rapid growth in recent years. In 1986 construction volume was close to Kcs 300 million, in 1987 it had already reached Kcs 500 million. Approximately one third of that was used for the needs of the JZD and for actions covered by the fixed-limit investments, technological development fund actions for ensuring federal, branch, and institute tasks of research and development and in support of the social programs within the framework of action "Z", etc.

Another one-third of the construction activity of the cooperative is set aside for the build-up of its own branch of agriculture and foodstuffs and aimed at the construction of the necessary research and development base of the branch. The last one-third of the construction capacity is provided by the JZD to the national committees in their villages, the city of Gottwaldov, okres, and kraj. It erects buildings and facilities for public services (for example, retail centers and shops), schools, nurseries, roads, engineering networks, health and social amenities and environmental protection facilities (i.e. sewage plants).

The JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice construction industry must react immediately to the agricultural and industrial production of the cooperative and contribute without disagreements or protests to the rapid return on investment. For this purpose, in addition to its three construction divisions, the JZD also operates the overseeing division AGROINVESTA which oversees the investment intent, predesign preparations, design and legal support, the supply, general supervision and implementation. The cooperative's construction industry operates in an unconventional manner, takes advantage of the most modern technologies in construction and rational work organization. It assumes calculated risks in overlapping individual construction phases which should follow in sequence. It concentrates on a perfect organizational preparation for the construction and its management according to a time-schedule which details the tasks and deadlines, particularly during a concentrated utilization of equipment and personnel for extensive actions with short deadlines.

As examples of the results of the cooperative's construction we list the following:

Large-scale milk-cow barn for 840 milk cows built in 1974 for Kcs 36 million. Initial deadline for the construction was three years, it was finished in one year.

A large vegetable market in Gottwaldov and a hot-house farm in Spytihnev was completed in 1981 in seven months at the cost of Kcs 16 million as implementation of the program "Vegetables" at the Gottwaldov party initiative. Within the framework of this program the cooperative also built a potato peeling plant for deliveries to wholesale purchasers of peeled potatoes in the Gottwaldov region.

A bridge over the Drevnice creek in Slusovice was finished in 1982 for Kcs 2.5 million in 16 days instead of the 16 months scheduled by the general designer.

Canadian Cow Barns in Vsemin for 130 calves purchased abroad for the improvement of the Slusovice herd had to be completed in 45 days in 1986 in value of Kcs 15 million in order that the air-transported cattle could be immediately housed.



Bio-operations for implementation of the Slusovice program aimed at bio-technological developments, in accordance with the development program accepted by the 17th CPCZ Congress, valued at Kcs 64 million were completed in two and one-half years concurrently with solving some modern technological problems, and opened for operation in 1986. Neither the cooperative management nor the construction management was satisfied with the time-schedule and the time it took to complete the building, including the technological facilities, and consider it as not having met the Slusovice standards.

A 3.5 km long Slusovice-Lips highway was rebuilt as a four-lane road to meet the Slusovice transportation needs at a cost of Kcs 50 million within 3 winter months. It included three bridges. A total of 50 different pieces of machinery were used in tightly controlled schedules (including equipment of other construction organizations not in use by them out of season). Because of the speed and exemplary organization of the construction, the local residents started to refer to the road as "Gorbachevka."

## II. Management Systems

### Organization of Management

The structure of the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice management reflects the fact that the enterprise is an agricultural cooperative which must meet all standards necessary for the management of agricultural cooperatives and has, at the same time, to take into account the realities of the industrial character of its primary agricultural as well of its secondary associated production. In regard to this, it has transpired that the cooperative has positively utilized the possibilities offered by democratic cooperation and has, on its basis, created a rational management system which enables it to achieve remarkable results in the management of extensive modern agricultural and industrial businesses.

Stop while you are still enjoying it, says an old Czech proverb. In our case this proverb may not be to the point because there never seems to be enough of good things. However, there is a reason why we conclude today our series—which started in January—and the reason is an encouraging one. The book from which we have been publishing these abbreviated excerpts not only has found a publisher but is expected to be out within a term which is almost unheard of and unthinkable in today's conditions. And so, everything else that we have originally prepared for you in this aspect, plus many other things, you will find now in the publication by Novinar "How they Manage in JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice"—perhaps as early as the third quarter of 1988. Which chapters might you enjoy? Chapter "II. Management System", printed here in part, contains items about the organization and management concepts; economic management and personnel in the management system, that is what life is really like in Slusovice, is explained in chapters "Political Work in the Cooperative" and "Individual and the Collective in the Cooperative"; other chapters analyze management as a factor of success and as other factors.

All that remains is, perhaps, to quote the motto of Chapter II, the beginning of which we used on this page to conclude the series. We left it out deliberately so that we could use it for our conclusion:

To Manage Is To Make Sure That Things Happen.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

New Ship Types Presented at 1988 Leipzig Spring Fair  
23000061 East Berlin SEEWIRTSCHAFT in German  
Feb 88 pp 55-57

[Text] Following a well-established tradition, the Schiff-sommerz foreign trade enterprise once again exhibits the new export program and production profile of the Shipbuilding Combine at the Leipzig spring fair. In

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--"Saturn" full container ship (as first construction of the GDR research concept "Perspektivisches Schiff" [perspective ship])	19,700 dwt/1166 TEU
--"Passat" multipurpose container ship	18,000 dwt/930 TEU
--"Narow VC 1000" container ship	16,000 dwt/1100 TEU
--Lo/No 18 11 multipurpose freighter	18,000 dwt/710 TEU
--UCC 14 universal container carrier	14,000 dwt/1020 TEU
--CNR 1700 container freighter	1,700 dwt/76 TEU
--motor barge	794 t
--two-decker railroad freight ferry with 1500 m broad-gauge track length (1520 mm)	
--"Atlantik 400" factory trawler	
--"Kristall II/III" refrigerated transporter	13,300/14,400 cu m
--green-going bucket-conveyor floating excavator	750 cu m/h
--302/302M inland waters passenger ship for 112 and 350 passengers with cabin, respectively	

doing so the approach is to meet requirements of present and future shipowners and operators and at all times to offer to the customers in over 50 countries and to interested parties effective products at favorable terms. Known offers and much that is new are displayed in halls 10 and 10.1 and on the adjacent open grounds. The roughly 20 newly and further developed types of ships, which can be flexibly employed and are modifiable, are shown in Table 1.

#### Ship's Equipment Offered

Economical and high-performance ships meeting regulations require close coordination between the shipyards and the producers of ship's equipment. Nine enterprises of marine engine and installation building within the Shipbuilding Combine VEB guarantee the uniformly oriented hand-in-hand operation that is a prerequisite for outstanding achievements. These combine enterprises represented in Leipzig are specialized on the following:

—Complete propulsion plans (VEB Dieselmotorenwerk Rostock [Rostock Diesel Engine Works VEB])

—Automation, electrical engineering electronics (VEB Schiffselektronik "Johannes Warnke" Rostock ["Johannes Warnke" Ship's Electronics VEB, Rostock])

—Deck machinery (VEB Klement-Gottwald-Werk Schwerin)

—Cryo-engineering (VEB Kuehlautomat Berlin [Berlin Automatic Refrigeration Machinery VEB])

—Lifesaving equipment (VEB Schiffswerft Rechlin [Rechlin Shipyard VEB])

—Fish meal installations and environmental protection installations (VEB Schiffsanlagenbau Barth [Barth Ship's Installations Building VEB])

—Equipment systems and air conditioning equipment (VEB Industriekooperation Rostock [Rostock Industrial Cooperation VEB])

—Hatch covers and special cargo-handling equipment (VEB Schiffswerft Oderberg [Oderberg Shipyard VEB]; VEB Giesserei und Maschinenbau Torgelow [Torgelow Foundry and Machine Building VEB])

Numerous sports and utility boats of the VEB Yachtwerft Berlin [Berlin Yacht Shipyard VEB] illustrate the capabilities in a special field also typical of GDR shipbuilding.

Schiffskommerz is also an interesting partner for licenses, engineering, project studies, and project planning.

#### Passat Multipurpose Container Ship

Shipyard: VEB Warnowwerft Warnemuende

After finishing the building of the Aequator multipurpose container ship, of which a total 13 ships were delivered to shipowners of 4 countries by the VEB Warnowwerft Warnemuende (7 ships) and by the VEB Schiffswerft Neptun Rostock [Neptun Shipyard VEB, Rostock] (6 ships), the Warnowwerft builds the Passat ship's type as a further developed multipurpose freighter generation. On 30 October 1987 the first such ship was accepted by the Jugoslovanija shipping company in Kotor. The two-decker with twin holds, which is designed for shipment of general cargo, grain, bulk cargo, industrial equipment, and containers, has a good capability to separate the types of goods and can be flexibly modified to meet customer needs. [For technical data on the Passat Multipurpose Container Ship see Table 2]

#### Lo/Ro 18 II Multipurpose Freighter

Shipyard: VEB Warnowwerft Warnemuende

In direct continuation of the reliable product line of the basic type Lo/Ro 18 the completely reworked type Lo/Ro 18 II is being delivered to the USSR merchant marine. The use value is enhanced by:

—The increased capacity for stowing containers.

—A reworked energy-economy concept of the ship.

—The use of a new generation of microcomputer technology on 16-bit basis for automation of the ship's engine operation.

—Modernized cargo handling equipment.

The ship is intended for transporting general and bulk cargo, ISO containers, heavy goods, long goods, and bulk freight as well as vehicles and rolling cargo. The share of transport possibilities for loads classified as dangerous was increased. [For technical data on the LO/RO 18 II Multipurpose Freighter see Table 3]

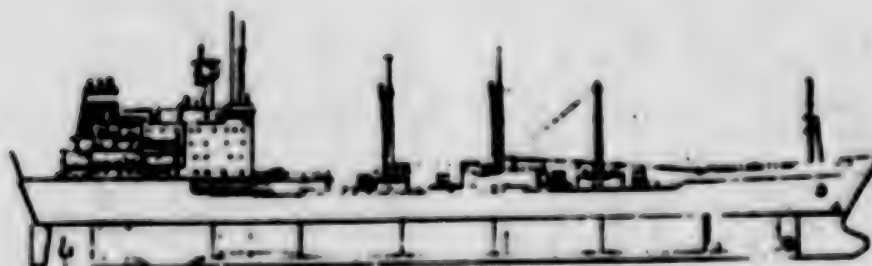
#### UCC 14 Universal Container Carrier

Shipyard: VEB Mathias-Thesen Werft Wismar

In continuation of the product line of type OBC universal freighters, of which a total of 34 ships were delivered to shipowners of 11 countries, the shipyard developed the new type of ship in accordance with the requirements of leading international shipping companies as regards tonnage of the ship and load spectrum for flexible use on the worldwide charter market. This new development, of which the "Ville de Venus" was delivered as a type vessel by the Mathias-Thesen-Werft Wismar to a Dutch shipping company on 18 December, as an open single-deck ship with double hull in the cargo space area combines in



Multipurpose freighter Lo/Ro 18 II



Modifications of "Kristall III" class refrigeration ship

a remarkable way the features of a container ship with those of a multipurpose freighter. The ship is designed for the transport of 20 and 40 foot containers, general cargo, bulk cargo including grain, industrial equipment, rolling mill products and lumber. Wide central hatches assure optimum access to the hold without lateral storage. The hatch covers consist of folding covers or in the long hatch 2, of folding covers in combination with pontoon covers. This design makes possible efficient, easy-to-operate handling of the hatch covers and stresses the character as a multipurpose freighter. With homogeneous loading 660 TEU at 14 tons each of gross weight

can be transported. Connections for 60 40-foot refrigerated containers are present on deck. [For technical data on the UCC 14 Universal Container Carrier see Table 4]

#### Kristall III Refrigerated Transporter

Shipyard: VEB Mathias-Thesen-Werft Wismar

This completely new project with high transport capacity, modern transshipment technology, and ship's technology whose operation is economical energywise was developed on the basis of experiences in construction



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Technical data:

length over all	165.50 m
length between perpendiculars	152.40 m
molded breadth	23.05 m
depth to main deck	13.40 m
depth to 2d deck	9.30 m
freeboard draft	10.07 m
tonnage	10,050 t
cruising speed without shaft-driven alternator at 90 t NCH	13.9 kn
range	14,000 nm
ship's hold capacity	24,900 cu m/23,145 cu m
number of cargo holds	4
container stowage places	930 YBU
--including below deck	340 YBU
container load capacity at 14 t gross weight each	940 YBU
ship's hold dimensions	
--hold 1	13,650 mm x 13,000 mm/
	10,400 mm
--double holds 2 and 3	23,300 mm x 7,000 mm
--double hold 4	19,200 mm x 7,000 mm
transshipping equipment (variable)	40-t single crane
	25-t single crane
	25-t twin crane
	7000 kw
3 RTA 50 main drive (Bulwer license)	
variable pitch propeller	
shaft-driven alternator	1000 kw

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Technical data:

length over all	172.50 m
length between perpendiculars	161.00 m
molded breadth	23.05 m
depth to main deck	13.70 m
freeboard draft	10.00 m
tonnage	17,450 t
cruising speed at 90 t NCH	10.0 kn
--without shaft-driven alternator	17.5 kn
--with shaft-driven alternator (850 kw)	10,000 nm
range	25,420 cu m
hold volume	720 YBU
container stowage places	343 YBU
--including in the holds	
container load capacity at 14 t gross weight each	421 YBU
refrigerated container connections	30 YBU
on deck	243 cars or 83 trucks
rolling cargo	or trailers with 92 YBU
transshipping equipment	1 x 25-t single ship's crane
	(22 m radial range)
	2 x 3 x 25-t twin
	onboard crane (22 m
	radial range)
	45 t
	9450 kw
angled stern ramp	1100 kw
3 RTA 50 main drive (Bulwer license)	39 persons
variable-pitch propeller	
shaft-driven alternator	
accommodations for	

Technical data:

length over all	156.78 m
length between perpendiculars	145.20 m
molded breadth	22.86 m
depth	11.20 m
freeboard draft	0.61 m
tonnage	16,165
cruising speed without shaft-driven alternator at 90 % MCR	17 kn
range	12,000 nm
ship's hold capacity	18,000 cu m
number of cargo holds	3
container stowage places	1,020 TEU maximum
--including below deck	364 TEU
Central holds	
--hold 1	25,210 mm x 10,000 mm <sup>2</sup>
	13,200 mm
--hold 2	27,970 mm x 10,000 mm
--hold 3	25,070 mm x 10,000 mm
transshipping equipment	1 x 40-t single onboard crane (20 m radial range)
5 BTA 38 main drive (Bulsar license) fixed-pitch propeller	7,950 kw
variable pitch generator (thyristor controlled)	
accommodations for	600 kw
	21 + 3 persons

Technical data:

length over all	165.00 m
length between perpendiculars	153.00 m
molded breadth	23.50 m
depth to upper deck	13.50 m
greatest average draft	0.15 m
tonnage	10,900 dwt
cruising speed	17.2 kn
range	30,000 nm
refrigerated cargo hold volume	14,400 cu m
number of holds	4
cargo hold temperatures	-28 degrees C to + 3 degrees C, as selected
Main propulsion: Brjansk 6L60 MCR (MAN/B&W licenses)	7980 kw

and use which were gained in the production and operation of more than 50 refrigeration ships and transporters. [For technical data on the Kristall III Refrigerated Transporter see Table 5]

Use Value factors:

—Suitability to use for shipment of supplies and cold-storage-fishing cargo with transshipment operation at sea even under complex weather conditions and for the shipment of other refrigerated cargo;

—Use of a long-stroke, dc-operated, slow-speed main engine for heavy-oil operation with a specifically low fuel consumption;

—Energy-economical onboard power generation;

—Refrigeration by screw-type compressors with economizer operation;

—Automation class A 1;

—Fish meal storage area of modern construction according to IMDG code with 4 storage levels (1500 cubic meters);

—Possibility of transporting 180 t of fish oil (240 cubic meters);

- All loading hatches and tweendeck hatches of the refrigerated cargo holds opening fore and aft;
- Favorable arrangement of the cargo holds for transshipment with ships alongside at sea;
- Bulbous prow to reduce drag;
- Transverse rudder for high maneuverability;
- Great sanitary comfort for the crew;
- Inside swimming pool;
- Environmentally beneficial by avoidance of cargo-ballast tanks.

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Monthly Reports 1987 Shipbuilding Results  
23000060 East Berlin SEEWIRTSCHAFT in German  
Feb 88 pp 58-63

[Report by D. Strobel: "GDR Shipbuilding 1987"]

[Text] In 1987 the shipyards of the Shipbuilding Collective produced a total of 50 new units with a gross register tonnage of 330,729 GT and a load capacity of 299,192 tdw (Table 1). To achieve this new-construction performance overtime work was necessary, even though production lagged behind that of the previous year (65 ships, 387,441 GT). The reason for the figure for the final number of ships lies primarily in planning changes in the production structure, especially in the Fishing Ship Product Group (Table 2).

Table 1: 1987 New Construction by Shipyard

Shipyard	Number of Ships	Gross Tonnage in GT	Load Capacity in Tons
VEB Warnowwerft Warnemünde	7	109,519	129,497
VEB Mathias-Thoenen-Werft Wismar	6	96,966	79,912
VEB Schiffswerft "Napier" Rostock	6	55,834	60,553
VEB Volkswerft Stralsund	19	43,933	15,172
VEB Elbe-Werften Boizenburg/Rosslau	12	24,477	14,058
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>330,729</b>	<b>299,192</b>

Compared with the 36 fishing vessels built in 1986 (32 freezer plant ships, one factory trawler-mull ship and three refrigeration transport ships), only 21 fishing vessels were built in 1987. However, of these there were 12 (!) scientific fishery research ships, of the Atlantik 833 type, one catch and processing ship with research facilities (the Ernst Haackel), one factory trawler in production model series (Atlantik 488), for modified catch and processing ships for GDR deep-sea fishing and two refrigeration transport ships.

Overall production of 50 new ships is distributed over 16 types of seagoing vessels, six of which are new models with a total production of 20 units. This market-based collective strategy is also reflected in the above-average modernization rate, amounting to more than 40 percent.

Eighty-two percent of new-ship registration tonnage was exported. The primary purchaser, the USSR, bought 53 percent of the tonnage, i.e., 31 ships. Yugoslavia, Liberia, the Bahamas and the most recent and 44th client country, The Netherlands, also took delivery of GDR ships in 1987. A total of 12 ships were delivered to domestic shipyards, compared with 10 for 1986:

—The VEB [state enterprise] Deutscher Seereederei Rostock (DSR-Lines) received the full-container ships Ernst Thielmann and Wilhelm Pieck (1,166 TEU/19,710 ton load capacity) of the Saturn type and the multipurpose container ship Havelland (900 TEU/17,088 ton load) of the Anquator type.

—The VEB Fischfang Rostock received five freezer trawlers of the successful Atlantik 333 series, identified as Type IV, ROS 803 Werner Niedermeyer, ROS 804 Albert Glas, ROS 805 Manfred Skaus, ROS 806 Wilhelm Rugeheimer, ROS 807 Otto Wichtboldt and the fishery research vessel Ernst Haackel.



Table 2: 1987 New Construction by Ship Categories

Ship Category	Number of Ships	Gross Tonnage in GT	Load Capacity in Tons
Freighters	23	300,366	230,485
—All-container and Multi-purpose Container Ships	10	146,344	181,831
—Su/To and La/To Ships	4	45,574	45,046
—Coasting/Inland Freighters	6	8,448	10,236
—Inland Freighters	3	—	2,362
Fishing Ships	21	68,753	33,874
—Catch and Factory Ships	6	17,340	7,045
—Research Ships	13	26,683	8,127
—Refrigeration Ships	2	24,820	18,702
Other	6	61,710	25,623
—Railroad Freight Ferry Boats	3	43,600	23,800
—Inland Passenger Ships	3	18,029	1,440
—Floating Chain-Duckett Dredgers	1	2,081	383
Total	50	330,729	389,192

—The VEC Active Domestic Shipping and Waterways received the three 794-ton motor freighters Rostock, Stralsund and Wismar.

Among last year's superior achievements were the following:

—Delivery of the first Saturn type full-container ship having a container position capacity of 1,177 TEU. It

was developed in accordance with the GDR research concept "Perspective ship" as part of the "Sea Economy" project of Science-Production Cooperation.

Both ships (the VCS Ernst Thälmann was delivered on 27 May 1987 and the VCS Wilhelm Pieck on 28 September 1987 by the VEB Warnowwerft, Warnemünde

Table 3: Distribution of Product Groups in 1987 New Construction

Product Group	Number of Ships	Gross Tonnage in GT	Gross Savings in Percent GT
Freighters	23	300,366	80.0
Fishing Ships	21	68,753	20.0
Other	6	61,710	20.0
Total	50	330,729	100.0

Table 4: 1987 New Construction by Country Flag

Flag Country	Number of Ships	Gross Tonnage in GT	Gross Tonnage in Percent GT
Total New Construction	30	330,729	100
Of the above, for CCR Users:	12	61,465	18
—Deutscher Seeverkehrs	3	50,041	
—Fischfang Bootbau	6	11,424	
—Domestic Shipping and Waterways	3	—	
Total Export	30	269,264	82
Export Breakdown:			
—GDR	31	173,061	53
—Yugoslavia	3	41,027	12
—Liberia	2	26,630	8
—Bahamas	1	16,569	5
—Netherlands	1	11,977	4

CCR-Built Ships Delivered in 1987

Delivered (1987)	Proj. No	Ship's Name	Ship Type	Flag State	Gross Tonnage (GT) (Load in Tons)	Length (Meters)	Beam (Meters)	Height (Meters)	Power Plant	HP	Speed (Knots)
VED Hermann's Werft											
26/02	232	Janus	Asphalt	Yug	13,600 [19,032]	132.40	23.05	10.07	2 5 00 70/125 EL	7,000	16.3
27/02	181	Bruck Thomsen	VED Ocean	GDR	10,353 (10,710)	103.05	25.10	10.42	2 0 00 70/125 EL	12,100	16.75
28/02	233	Rosa	Asphalt	Yug	13,600 [19,110]	same as "Janus"					
28/07	134	Edmond	La/Bo 10	GDR	10,003 [17,000]	101.00	23.05	10.02	2 5 00 70/125 EL	7,000	16.0
28/09	182	Vilhelm Platz	VED Ocean	GDR	10,353 (10,710)	same as "Bruck Thomsen"					
30/10	275	Harpo	Passat	Yug	13,601 [19,235]	132.40	23.05	10.07	2 5 00 70/125 EL	7,000	16.9
30/11	125	Malijon	La/Bo 10	GDR	10,003 (17,000)	same as "Edmond"					

Total: Seven new constructions totaling 100,519 GT and 120,497 tons load capacity

GER-Soviet Ship Delivered in 1987

Delivered (1987)	Proj. Ship's No	Ship's Name	Ship Type	Flag State	Gross Tonnage (GT) (Load in)	Length (Meters)	Width (Meters)	Height (Meters)	Power Plant	GT	Speed (Knots)
04/01	126	Wally Polakshuk	Grainall II	USSR	12,410 (9,381)	142.00	22.00	7.00	2 9 00 70/125 H	7,000	17.4
12/08	122	Klayyda	ST	USSR	21,000 (11,000)	173.00	26.00	7.10	2 0 00 60/12 AI-2	10,000	18.3
10/09	120	Primo Scurpion	STC	Belarus	10,000 (23,243)	107.00	22.00	10.25	2 0 00 70/120 S	8,230	15.6
10/10	123	Vilayus	ST	USSR	21,000 (11,000)	same as "Klayyda"					
10/12	170	Villa de Vener	STC	Belarus	11,077 (14,103)	145.33	22.00	8.62	2 0 00 70/120 S	7,000	17.0
10/12	217	Poyas Kirov	Grainall II	USSR	12,410 (9,381)	same as "Wally Polakshuk"					

Total: Six new constructions totaling 65,000 GT and 79,913 tons load capacity

GER-Soviet Ship "Rusar" Series

11/01	204	Rusar	Rusar	USSR	13,370 (17,000)	108.00	23.00	11.00	2 9 00 70/125 H	7,000	16.3
11/03	100	Rusar Rusar	ST/ST	USSR	8,004 (4,673)	117.00	18.00	4.00	2 0 00 60/12 AI-2	2,000	13.7
10/08	205	Rusar Rusar	Rusar	Lithuania	13,370 (10,700)	same as "Rusar"					
10/09	170	Rusar Rusar	ST/ST	USSR	8,004 (4,673)	same as "Rusar"					
10/12	111	Rusar Rusar	ST/ST	USSR	2,001 (903)	65.17	14.00	2.75	2 0 00 60/12 AI-2	700	9.0
10/12	207	Rusar Rusar	Rusar	Lithuania	13,370 (10,700)	same as "Rusar"					

Total: Six new constructions totaling 55,024 GT and 65,913 tons load capacity

to the DSR (German Maritime Shipping Company) completed their maiden voyage Rostock-Columbo-Rostock in record time.

—Delivery of MS Karpas as the first ship of the Faust type multipurpose container ship series (930 TEU/10,030 ton load capacity).

For this cargo ship generation, with optimum energy efficiency, the Rostock Diesel Motor Works contributed the crucial component for the first time: the Langsh-Krauskopf motor of the RTA 38 Series, built under license from Sulzer, which has a specific fuel consumption of 173 g/kWh.

On 30 October 1987 the Yugoslav shipping company Jugoslovska Kotor took delivery of the modifiable ship

type developed by the Warnow Shipyard, Warnemünde, ship construction project No 275. Three additional units will be built in 1988 and others until 1990.

—Completion of the first ship of Series UCC 14 (1,034 TEU/14,165 ton load capacity) at the VEB Machine-Thesen Shipyard, Wismar.

This ship type, suitable for flexible deployment in the worldwide charter market in view of its size and load capacity, represents an optimum combination of the features of a full-container ship and those of a multipurpose freighter. The RTA 38 motor (7,930 kW) and the Thyristor-driven 800 kW wave generator provide for optimum ship operations. The UCC "Villa de Vener" was delivered to the Jean-Shipping and Trading B.V. Amsterdam on 10 December 1987 and has been successfully placed in charter service.



GG-Built Ships Delivered in 1987

Delivered (1987)	Proj. No	Ship's Name	Ship Type	Flag State	Gross Tonnage (GT) (Load in)	Length (Meters)	Breadth (Meters)	Depth (Meters)	Power Plant	HP	Speed (Knots)
06/01	713	Werner Makonnen	Refrig. Trailer	DDR	1,000 (728)	35.50	13.00	4.00	2x100 26/70 A1-2	1,704	12.5
20/01	714	Albert Glass	Refrig. Trailer	DDR	same as "Werner Makonnen"						
06/03	771	Professor Hertl	Scientific Research Ship	DDR	2,062 (1,617)	35.00	13.00	4.00	2x100 26/70 A1-2	1,704	12.5
20/03	772	Atlantida									
21/03	773	Professor Bogdanov									
20/04	774	Dr. Stafner									
15/05	775	Prof. Klawnsky									
27/05	776	Prof. J. J. J. J.									
06/06	777	Atlantida									
20/06	778	Prof. Lomskov									
20/06	779	Sp. Pevyuchanov									
23/07	780	Tiere									
21/07	781	Prof. Gidakov									
20/08	782	Flare									
20/08	783	Wolfgang Sten	Refrig. Trailer	DDR	1,000 (728)	35.50	13.00	4.00	2x100 26/70 A1-2	1,704	12.5
21/08	784	H. Bapstner									
20/08	785	Otto Winkler									
20/10	786	Ernst Biedel									
20/12	801	Ivan Burmistrov	Factory Trailer	DDR	700 (1,205)	187.00	19.00	6.00	2x100 26/70 A1-2	5,300	15.0

Total: 19 new constructions totaling 43,613 GT and 25,172 tons load capacity

—The 12 Atlantik 833 scientific fishery research vessels, completed at the Stralsund People's shipyard during the period 6 March to 28 August 1987.

Based at the Soviet fishing ports of Murmansk, Kaliningrad, Kerch and Vladivostok, these research vessels, which contain 15 laboratories and can operate anywhere, provide a great variety of basic scientific data in support of the USSR's food program.

—Completion of the Ten-series of Ra/Ro ships, Type Trailer (6,894 GT/4,673 tons load capacity) for the USSR at the Napru shipyard in Rostock on 30 September 1987, with the delivery of the Nikolay Chernyshevsky.

—The hard-fought completion and delivery of the first production series model factory trailer, Production No 802, the Ivan Burmistrov, home base Kerch, by the Stralsund People's Shipyard.

—Delivery by Wisner's Mathias-Thoen Shipyard of two additional railroad freight ferries, designed for an annual transport capacity of 900,000 tons, which can accommodate up to 103 broad gauge railroad cars on two decks, with a total track length of 1,578 meters.

EGF Klaipeda was delivered on 27 June 1987 and EGF Vilnius on 30 October 1987 to the Lithuanian Shipping Company for service on the Mukran-Klaipeda train ferry.

—Finally, the remarkable size of the series of principle ship types in the DDR ship building programs which was achieved in 1987 despite an increase in the rate of new model construction; the contrast with the situation in the shipbuilding industries of many western countries is self-evident.

On 20 December 1987, the Mathias-Thoen Shipyard, Wisner, delivered the KTS Pamyat Kirova (home port: Murmansk) as the 51st refrigeration transport ship (13,300 cubic meters/9,351 tons load capacity) of the Polar/Kritskii VII generation.

VEB-Elbe Shipyard Delivered in 1987

Delivered (1987)	Proj. No.	Ship's Name	Ship Type	Flag State	Gross Tonnage (GT) (Load in Tons)	Length (Meters)	Width (Meters)	Depth (Meters)	Power Plant	HP	Speed (Knots)
20/02	371	Lennart	Ro-Ro Freightliner	DDR	- (750)	79.00	9.99	2.00	2x100 16/24 AL	642	18.0 knots
20/03	389	Sea	Inland Passenger Ship	DDR	3,343 (1,000)	122.43	18.00	2.70	2x100-5 16/24	2x735	23.5 knots
01/04	329	CTK-1026	CR	DDR	1,400 (1,700)	79.10	11.40	2.40	2x100 16/24	2x441	21.0 knots
31/05	372	Burkhard	Ro-Ro Freightliner	DDR	- (794)	same as "Berkhard"					
20/06	329	CTK-1027	CR	DDR	1,400 (1,700)	same as "CTK-1026"					
20/06	390	Lena	Inland Passenger Ship	DDR	3,343 (1,000)	same as "Sea"					
31/07	330	CTK-1028	CR	DDR	1,400 (1,700)	same as "CTK-1026"					
20/08	391	Sergey Kirov	Inland Passenger Ship	DDR	3,343 (1,000)	same as "Sea"					
20/09	331	CTK-1029	CR	DDR	1,400 (1,700)	same as "CTK-1026"					
20/09	373	Winnar	Ro-Ro Freightliner	DDR	- (794)	same as "Berkhard"					
20/11	332	CTK-1030	CR	DDR	1,400 (1,700)	same as "CTK-1026"					
31/12	333	CTK-1031	CR	DDR	1,400 (1,700)	same as "CTK-1026"					

Total: 12 new constructions totaling 24,677 GT and 14,000 tons load capacity

The VEB Elbe Shipyards Boizenburg/Rostau delivered the following to the USSR domestic fleet:

—On 30 September 1987, its 36th inland passenger ship (340/332 cabin spaces), the Sergey Kirov (based in Leningrad).

—On 31 December 1987, its 63d Seagoing/Domestic Type CRK (1706 ton load capacity) freighter, the CTK-1031.

With the Freme Scorpion, its 34th OBC (16,569 GT/23,245 ton load capacity), the Mathias-Thoen Shipyard, Wismar, closed out its successful production series, which had been modified several times since 1972 and which had been delivered to shipping lines from 11 countries.

On 30 November 1987, the USSR deep-sea fleet accepted as its 15th Lo/Ro, the MS Baltiyak (home port: Leningrad) from the Warnow Shipyard, Warnemuende.

In 1987, the Neptun shipyard delivered to the USSR its 11th floating chain-bucket dredger (750 cubic meters/hr at a 12 meter water depth) with the Bagrai Zakharov.

With 10 additional inland passenger ships, retro-modelling from 124 to 164 persons on one-day excursions, the Berlin yacht shipyard extended its series to 56 units. Eleven of them are being successfully operated in the USSR.

In summary, the 1987 shipbuilding production is an ambitious synthesis of new and proven items, oriented toward lofty goals. Not only did export-worth products for the next few years reach the production stage, the requisite shipboard equipment was developed also.

9273/08309

## POLAND

### State Monopolies: Root of Inflation, Breakup Viewed as Essential to Reform

26000234 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish  
No 8, 21 Feb 88 pp 1, 4, 5

[Article by Leon Bojko: "That Terrifying Market"]

[Text] In the fall of 1981 the price of eggs reached the unbelievable sum of 21 zloty apiece. In the tense, uncertain atmosphere of the time it was a minor detail, one of the many irritants of daily life, but the collapse of the poultry market played its part in creating this atmosphere.

At the end of 1987, in an atmosphere of market panic that cleared the stores of all the junk, the price of eggs again went up. Before Christmas the price demanded (and paid) was 26 zloty apiece. At least this is not a dizzying increase; even if we take the price of extra-high quality eggs in the delicatessens, called country eggs, of 36 zloty apiece as the basis for comparison then in comparison with the highest price of 1981, of about 40 percent, it is ridiculously small.

It is not my intention to write a history of the 1981-82 period; it is not my field and not my calling. It is worth, however, recalling this detail, this peculiarity in the Polish economy in the context of the unending debate about reform. Then, in the fall of 1981, a process of complete emancipation of the egg market and, in part, of the poultry market began. As a result of various phenomena and actions, partly intentional and partly spontaneous the production of eggs tore itself from under the sponsorship of the state, or more precisely from under the supervision of the Poldrob Egg and Poultry Organization operating in its name. The very process of the emancipation of the egg market deserves close analysis, especially by groups of specialists who have so far only been engaged theoretically, but this is also not the subject of my current deliberations. Something else interests me here.

The introduction of market principles into our economy is presented to us, especially by the theorists, as an unusually complicated effort and more importantly, as very expensive and dangerous for social peace. One must pay for the introduction of a market, they say. But only society can pay, and who else? Under current conditions given these and not some other economic circumstances, we must retain state control of many areas of the economy for otherwise we will face an avalanche of price increases, which could cause undesired social consequences. The market is presented to us then as something terrifying and dangerous on the model of that "black people" used to frighten children during my (passed) childhood, when as I remember we played quite enthusiastically.

Why must we protect our average consumers from such a storm? But this is obvious! Prices would go up, controlled by no one; the weak social groups would be forced below the level of the social minimum; and the strong groups would force wage increases through non-economic pressures, pushing the inflation rate beyond all reasonable bounds. This would strike the weak with redoubled force. It is horrible to imagine what would happen without the protective umbrella of the state.

And what is actually happening? How does it relate to the theoretical debates?

According to the "Small Statistical Annual" for 1987, the price for eggs in 1986 was 393.5 percent of the price in 1980. The price of plain sausage for these same years reached 590 percent, a shoulder with bone 590 percent, smoked bacon 303 percent, margarine 380 percent, oil 356 percent, bacon 410 percent, skim milk 414 percent, bread 420 percent. All of the mentioned food articles fall under "close supervision"; their prices are as official as they can be, carefully protected from the market storm. Obviously, in the interests of us average, defenseless consumers. Taking the parity of the chicken egg as the median, we gained on the price of margarine, oil, and the smoked bacon. This is good for a beginning.

The comparison with 1980 and the introduction of the parity of the chicken egg during that time is not completely justified. Prior to 1980 there was still a monopoly in eggs. A free market for eggs existed, but it did not set prices; Poldrob set prices. Thus, a comparison with prices in 1982, when the poultrymen gained complete freedom and the market began to set prices, even dictating them for the enterprise (or more correctly the association of enterprises) Poldrob, is more appropriate.

In comparison with 1982 prices for eggs in 1986 were 14 percent higher. The price for plain sausage 37 percent, pork shoulder with bone 38.4 percent, smoked bacon 31.4 percent, bacon 60 percent, margarine 8.7 percent oil 8.3 percent, skim milk 20 percent, bread 75 percent! Applying to our analysis our egg parity, we see that oil and margarine are holding out fairly well but in general things are not going particularly well for us under the umbrella protecting us from the market storm.

These few figures, obviously, cannot pretend to the rank of a competent economic analysis, but they illustrate the phenomenon well. Data, including that in the statistical annuals shows that where the principles of the free market were in operation prices rose more slowly than those controlled by the state. This is particularly clear in the horticulture market, which has been free of monopoly supervision for years.

The horticulturists and the poultrymen provide us with quality goods, frequently of outstanding quality, for reasonable prices; they pay taxes, which are not insignificant, they live decently, they have enough to invest, they have working capital, they use the latest discoveries of

science and technology (especially the horticulturalists and flower growers). They operate to the benefit of all, including that of the minister of finance. Where the large monopolies reign, however, chiefly in the meat, grain, and milk industries, everyone is dissatisfied. The consumers because of high prices and poorer quality; the farmers because the purchase prices are too low and the cooperation of the purchasing apparatus is abysmal; the minister of finance because of the horrendous budget subsidies.

In 1987 the milk industry was to receive a subsidy of 200 billion zloty, 45 percent of all the subsidies for the food industry. The payments for milk constitute 167 percent of its value, to cheeses 76 percent, for butter 47 percent (I am citing the report of the Consultative Economic Council of September 1987). Subsidies for the meat industry were 100 billion zloty, for the grain industry, the same amount.

What precisely are these subsidies for? To maintain our standard of living? No, for the standard is low and definite improvement is not in sight. To maintain agriculture? Also probably not. Recent loud, alarmist reports of various bodies, very official ones, warn of the breakdown of agriculture.

Whom and for what are we paying? Prof Jozef Kaleta in *TYGODNIK KULTURALNY* for 17 January 1988 wrote: "For example, in agriculture the purchase price of meat is four times lower than retail prices, while in other countries the difference usually does not exceed 100 percent (which was the case in Poland until 1939). And it is this way because we have a huge army of office workers in various monopoly organizations, for example, in voivodship and in central cooperative unions, that collect a high markup from turnover." We are paying not for social protection, not for maintaining agriculture, but for the operation of monopolies. While a private baker earns (and pays taxes), Spolek cannot get out of debt (and collects subsidies). While a private butcher makes money, our meat factories cannot exist without subsidies. The milk cooperative has no competition, it pushed even the tiny supplies of milk from the Brodno State Farm from the market in Warsaw. We also have the results, the price of milk products will rise in any case, the farmers are dissatisfied and slaughter their cows. The number of them has fallen to the level of 4.6 million head, the level of 1948. In the capital city we avoided the shortage of yellow cheese but we experienced a temporary shortage of white cheese; before Christmas, there was an announcement that frozen curd cheese would be available, which I find incomprehensible. Can you make cheese cake from it?

The operation of the monopoly involves more than the costs of maintaining an unprecedented, overextended bureaucracy just in the monopolies themselves. There is also waste, over which no one has control and which no one can estimate. In the flood of debate about the second stage of the reform, in the wave of thought on ways to

balance the budget, in the negotiations on the size of the price increases and the level of recompensation, only an accounting of the subsidies was absent. No one thought to call those on the carpet who are taking subsidies. I do not remember a debate in the Sejm commissions (and there are at least two appropriate ones—agriculture and budget, a commission on health protection would be useful) that analyzed where these state monies go. How much of these gigantic subsidies actually goes for social benefit, how much for maintaining the apparatus, how much is simply wasted? As a result the subsidies are treated as an almost natural and normal thing, and their unending growth is regarded exclusively as the result of social conservatism that "does not want to understand" and will not agree to price increases.

Characteristically, in the debates on the subject of economic reform (hectares of printed paper!), given the nearly universal declarations of recognition for market mechanisms, the most specific and most comprehensibly developed proposals are the operations intended to drain the consumers or individual farmers. [—] [Law of 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Spectacles art 2 pt 6 (*DZIENNIK USTAW* No 20, item 99, amended 1983 *DZIENNIK USTAW* No 44, item 204)]. But the closer the debates get to how one can actually approach this mythical market, the more obscure the considerations, the more abstract they become. And in fact, they reduce to a discussion of which price mechanism to use.

But a market is above all people. It is freedom in economic activities, access to it for each person who wishes to take a risk. Whether one takes it alone or in association through partnerships or cooperatives, whether one takes money for starting up one's own business from one's own resources or persuades others to put money lying dead in savings or in mattresses; it is a private affair. Only concrete people, active, resourceful, enterprising, create a market. No government commission or body, even one composed of the most outstanding theorists, will create it.

I do not think that the introduction of the market into our economy, or giving people freedom, must be associated with any particular costs. But one needs to speak rather not of giving but of returning this freedom. Last year in Poland we celebrated victory in the "battle for commerce" (I wonder, was it the crowning of the first stage of the economic reform or the inauguration of the second stage?). That battle was, I think, very expensive, and we are still paying these costs today, for it still continues. The whole state, in all its might, stands guard for the meat and milk monopoly.

But, we frequently hear arguments that it is difficult to introduce a market economy in a crisis situation, especially on the meat and milk markets where there are already signs forecasting a further dangerous decline in production. But the market reform on the "egg front" was made during a collapse on this market; it was a



consequence. And it was the market and its mechanisms that has at least given us peace and quiet in this area. The mechanisms are playing quite nicely.

Two elements account for this situation: the presence of a number of entrepreneurs in the market both private and socialized and the closing of the Poldrob monopoly. No one planned the reform eight years ago; it happened of its own accord. In the fall of 1981 the Ministry of Agriculture demanded the poultrymen shift their eggs from broilers for consumption, anticipating that beginning in 1982 difficulties with feed would be so great that Poldrob in the opinion of the Ministry of Agriculture would be incapable of meeting the long-term contracts for supplies of feed. The poultrymen have always been (and are now) a resourceful group. They warned the journalists who organized a campaign in the press. But the response of the officials to all the harassment was the same: there will be no feed, and that is it. (One can only give high marks to the accuracy of the forecasts.) After all these fruitless battles, they said: "If no, then no. We will manage ourselves." And they did.

I see no rational reason for which it is not possible to carry out similar operations in milk and meat processing. Given the maintenance of the current system, one way or the other a disaster awaits us, for the system has ceased functioning. That is, it functions but with steadily increasing, visible losses for all, for the consumer, the producer of the raw material, and for the state budget. Obviously, a calculation that the monopolies will collapse themselves as a result of an unfortunate set of circumstances, as was the case with Poldrob, would be proof of great irresponsibility. Introducing market mechanisms throughout the food economy (and this sector is suited to it as few are) would have to be done on the basis of a solid plan, in which the key element, although not the only one, would be to break up the monopolies suffocating the economy. [—] [Law of 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Spectacles art 2 pt 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. We have too many bodies that understand economic theory in precisely this manner.

Initially, it would be good if they stopped threatening us with the market and demonstrated that in Poland it is impossible. The example of the chicken egg market shows that the introduction of a market is neither horrible nor impossible. We have too many activities causing losses for everyone except those taking subsidies. It would be good to have more which pay.

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#### Debate Over Laws Governing Foreign Investment Reviewed

26000238 Warsaw *POLIT'KA* in Polish  
No 9, 27 Feb 88 p 5

[Article by Miroslaw Ziach: "Are Two Laws on Foreign Capital Needed: When the Bait Scars the Fish"]

[Text] Whoever wants to know the history of the little sweet thing who in barely two years after birth has become a boy for pummeling can follow the publications on foreign enterprises in small-scale manufacturing, popularly called Polonia firms.

Today the liberty of the statements pounding them is hampered by the fact that the production of the firms is calculated in the hundreds of billions of zloty and in the tens of millions of dollars. The political accent in strengthening ties at the economic level with foreign Polonia is also taking on increasingly greater significance.

#### Larger and Smaller Sums of Money

For 18 months, the Polonia firms have been gaining younger brothers called joint ventures abroad. An ill-matched sibling.

A few words recalling the brief family history. The principles for the formation and operation of foreign enterprises for small-scale manufacturing are covered by the law of 6 July 1982, although some of its crucial provisions were amended by the tax law of 29 July 1983. In turn, the formation and operation of enterprises with mixed capital (joint ventures) in Poland are covered by the law of 23 April 1986 on partnerships with foreign participation.

According to a fairly widely shared judgment, the law on joint ventures creates more favorable conditions in the area of taxes and accounting in exports. It does not, however, give foreign capital such independence as the law on so-called Polonia-foreign firms, for it requires more than 50-percent participation in the undertaking in the mixed capital by a Polish enterprise of the socialized economy.

One can ask, why the principles for the flow of foreign capital to Poland are covered by two laws. Are two different capitals involved?

Yes, they are different capitals and the purposes in attracting them to Poland are different, says one group.

This is a misunderstanding. Capital cannot be divided. If we judged money to be compromising then both large sums and small ones are, the other group responds.

But what does a large or middle-sized amount of capital essential to equipping a modern factory have in common with a small amount of capital that suffices barely for forming a small Polonia firm? A sack of regulations that was to include rules on the formation and operation, of say a joint venture based on the capital of one of the automobile concerns and that for a small laundry service put up by a loving aunt from Paris for her nephew from Siedlce, could become distended and burst.

On the other hand, even the largest concern once began with a small amount of capital. Frequently a small amount of capital can be better invested than a large amount. It then produces greater gains. A firm begins small, develops, and with time matches a large one. Among the nearly 700 Polonia-foreign enterprises more than 100 have such modern production facilities that, may God grant, every partnership started from such a level.

Facts and assumptions. Arguments and demagoguery. Forecasts, intimations, loose hypotheses. And everything mixed together.

In a radio program on 13 January 1988, a journalist pointed out to a representative of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation that the law on joint ventures has been in force for 18 months and that there are only six investments based on it. In response, the representative of the ministry stated that barely 18 months have passed and we have already 6 investments.

The representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation responsible for the development of joint ventures and the ones in the separate office of the Ministry of the Domestic Market absorbed in the operations of small-scale manufacturing vote for two laws.

One law suffices, the other side claims, the institutions and social forces among them the members of the Polonia Society, the activists of Inter-Polcom, the active participants in the Commission for Reform and Economic Policy and the Commission for International and Polonia Affairs of the PRON National Council. One office or one organization dealing with attracting foreign capital to Poland and its operations would be sufficient (and to the benefit of all). These opinions are convergent with the views presented by the Polonia groups cooperating with Poland in the economic area.

#### What Needs To Be Changed?

There is agreement, however, that the current regulations must be revised. The policy: warm words and high taxes, has not passed the test. Only the tax collector will resist at this point in order to maintain taxes at an unchanging high level. But, the fisherman—instead of waiting for the fish has taken to frying the bait.

Two proposed changes to the two laws are now ready. Confirmed and signed by the responsible officials of the two ministries. On the other hand we have another proposal. Perhaps it is not so elegantly expressed in legal language but it is more broadly consulted among practitioners. The proposal was prepared at a meeting of the Polonia Society's Economic Commission and the Society's Working Group for Ethnic Capital.

Tadeusz Kwasniewski, a Polonia activist, contributed most to its creation.

The changes proposed by the ministries to the separate laws of 1982 and 1986 have already met in the Office of the Council of Ministers. From there they surely do not need to go separately to the Sejm. It is not known whether the Council of Ministers will decide that uniform treatment of foreign capital in Poland in one law would be useful. It is also not impossible that the central state administration will take into consideration recommendations in the social proposal. For now, however, only the information from the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Implementing the Economic Reform is certain. In December 1987 (according to RZECZPOSPOLITA of 21 January 1988) "a proposal to amend the regulations of the law of 23 April 1986 on partnerships with foreign participation was prepared. The proposed amendments chiefly emphasized making the terms of investment for foreign capital in Poland more attractive." We also read that "plans for amending the law of 6 July 1982 on the principles for conducting economic activities in the PRL in the area of small-scale manufacturing by foreign legal and physical persons were prepared. The proposed changes call for great simplification in the method for processing applications for permits . . . and calls for creating incentives for foreign individuals to make convertible currency investments."

It is appropriate to recall here that the law of 6 July 1982 was prepared with the participation of social groups. And its provisions were introduced into the Sejm for consideration on the initiative of a deputy. The changes to the law made on 29 July 1983 were at the initiative of the administration (a recommendation of the ministry of finance), and today it is clear that the changes were bad. The law on partnerships of 1986 also reached the Sejm on the initiative of the administration and today it is also clear that it has not lived up to its expectations. In this situation it is appropriate to again draw attention to the fact that through PRON and the Polonia Society calls were made for the deputies to evaluate the implementation of the law of 1982 and the effects of the subsequent changes made in it.

#### Gains and Losses

I have presented here the backstage games for foreign capital. Capital of a Polonia origin and without this background. It is time to present the stakes in this game.

One is the threat of the collapse of around 500, or the vast majority, of the Polonia-foreign firms. Continuing the division of the two laws (of which, it can be assumed with great probability, the one on joint ventures creates more beneficial terms for the inflow and operation of foreign capital) will "convince" the 100 to 150 largest firms of the need to enter into a partnership with socialized firms. This will be a success for the joint ventures, but for the other 500 Polonia firms, paying higher taxes, giving more convertible currency to the tax collector, having smaller reliefs, sooner or later they will withdraw from the unequal competition. The collapse of

these 500 firms would be a shock for foreign Polonia. It is also difficult to assume that it would have no influence (negative) on the further development of joint ventures.

The owners of genuinely large amounts of capital cannot not take into account that barely a couple of years after attracting the Polonia-foreign firms (the regulations of the law of 1982 created beneficial terms for their development), there was a sharp turn in policy towards them.

Further. Is the love of the Polonia-foreign firms for the joint ventures mutual? The foreign enterprises in small-scale manufacturing want to participate legally with large capital, and what do the western industrialists, bankers, real businessmen think about such an association? Do they actually want to join their interests with the interests of those operating in the area of small-scale manufacturing? Such an argument, if brought up at the right moment, for example, right before making a decision: one law or two, could weigh greatly. Let it be the opinion of a fairly important representative of a fairly large western firm.

Are the Polonia-foreign firms a partner for large capital, or are they perhaps bait? And if they are bait, are they not sufficiently fat for the big fish of business to swim into our nets behind them? And perhaps the Polonia-foreign firms and joint ventures should be seen as competitors? If they are competitors (perhaps the adoption of such a thesis lay at the root of the division of the subject into two laws?), will it bring the Polish economy gains or losses?

I do not think that these or other similar questions are purely theoretical. The harmonious interaction of foreign capital—Polonia and non-Polonia—with Polish economic units can, in the opinion of many, bear fruit in the production of values on the order of tens of thousands of zloty per statistical Pole. With capital go production, exports, goods in the stores.

There is something at stake.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

**Legalization of Stockholding Contemplated**  
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[Article by Dusan Sekulic: "The Temptation of 'Socialist Capitalism'"]

[Text] The ideological battle which is flaring up over what is referred to as the question of the ownership title to socialized means of production in connection with the upcoming amendments of the Yugoslav Constitution is not anything specific to socialism or to our country at all. The ineffectiveness and economic hopelessness of resources and capital which no one feels to be his own

were first noted where material interest and productivity are above all things: under capitalism. What we at the very beginning of the eighties persistently tried to portray as an anachronism and an insolent attempt to turn back the wheel of history, using these terms to describe the "denationalization" and sale of state enterprises to private individuals in Britain and France is now knocking on our door. It is increasingly obvious that at this point a line is beginning to be drawn between those who want a life worthy of the prelude to the 3d millennium, even if the one-horse cart is pulled out of the mud by a "capitalist" horse, and those who would remain faithful to a dogma even though the cart sinks in even deeper. The latter are, of course, sitting in the cart and shouting "heave ho."

### The "Catch 22"

The possibility of work organizations obtaining resources from individuals for their development and paying compensation for those resources depending on their success has been envisaged by Amendment IX of the Proposal to amend the SFRY Constitution. An altogether clear opportunity is even envisaged for the issuance of securities "under the conditions and in the manner set forth by federal law." This is the "catch 22," since this could remain as it is in the new version of the Constitution, stockholding could be facilitated still more clearly in it, and yet in real life it would continue to be utterly frustrated if it is thus to be defined by federal law, since we know quite well who passes our laws and how they do it.

In the meantime, others have taken quite concrete steps toward resolving the most important issue of present-day socialism: how to motivate people. In the Soviet Union a new law has taken effect on private enterprises of the joint stock type, and in Hungary a securities exchange has already been opened.

As far as the capitalist world is concerned, the "steel lady," Margaret Thatcher, began in 1979. In essence there is no essential difference between state ownership in socialism and capitalism. Even in the sixties socialist propaganda raised to the level of scholarship the assertion that capitalism inevitably and peaceably is slowly coming to meet socialism because within it there was more and more governmentalized capital. Nuclear power and air transportation were particularly favored examples: here was proof that the world could not do without socializing vital functions of general importance. The socialists reinforced that belief when, having taken power all over Europe, they speeded up that process with a series of important nationalizations of large systems and banks. But Thatcher announced a move in the opposite direction by introducing "people's capitalism" as a barrier against state capitalism. Her first move was to sell the government part of British Petroleum in 1979, which was followed by a series of small government enterprises which had always been troublesome.



Out of inertia this process has for our part been regularly viewed as an insolent effort by conservatives and a favor to the rich at the expense of the disenfranchised poor. But was that really the case? In February 1982 Margaret Thatcher's government sold the government shipping firm National Freight Corp. to the people employed in it, to the workers and employees, for 53.3 million pounds. Today shares of National Freight Corp. are worth fiftyfold more, since the company's operation has improved by that much thanks to the most direct interest of the worker-owners. Excellent economic results have also been achieved in 16 large companies which the British government sold to private individuals, such as the famous Jaguar, British Airways, the telephone and telegraph, airports, and then government monopolies such as household gas supply, for example. The principal characteristic of this process has been that the stocks were bought by millions of small investors. For example, in 1984, 50.2 percent of the shares of British Telecom were purchased for 4 billion pounds by 2.3 million stockholders. Since 1979 the government has taken in 22 billion pounds by selling what up until that time had been government capital, and the total number of stockholders in that country climbed from 2 to 9 million. More than half of that number hold stock in just one firm. That is, it is very close to the slogan about "people's" capitalism.

#### Privatization of Capital

This process began later in France, when Chirac took office. But by selling 11 of the planned 65 companies and banks the government received \$13 billion in less than 2 years. The number of French stockholders increased from 1 million to 5.5 million. Much the same has been true in all countries of western Europe regardless of the political stripe of the government. The Italians have been the biggest skeptics about privatization of government capital, although even they have stuffed about 7 billion lire into the government treasury in this way. It is interesting that the Labor opposition in Britain and the socialist opposition in other countries, although they have not been supporting this process, have not been saying that if they come to power they will again nationalize what the Conservatives sold off to private individuals.

In any case it is obvious that the passage of government property into the hands of numerous small owners has moved into the foreground their vital interest in the business success of companies which until that time had been lulled in the safe lap of the government with career bureaucrats at the top of the managerial pyramid. The interests of the stockholders has been doubled by the fact that in a large number of cases they themselves are employed in the enterprises they have bought a piece of. In the United States, where this kind of stockholding has existed for a long time, it has been found that such firms yield 20 percent higher profit. And the governments have received tens of billions of dollars which up until that time had been preserved as idle capital or had been held in banks, which is only a bit worse for the national economy than keeping it in a sock.

#### Cosmetics and Dogma

Is there any point at which we might apply those experiences? Yes, there is, but the question is how willing the managerial structure is to apply it. The idea of establishing the possibility of stockholding through an amendment to the Constitution was recently supplemented by the view of the Slovenian LC Central Committee that it is thinking about a further development of that idea, all the way to a closer approach to the conventional share of stock, whose value would depend on the success of the enterprise and could be sold on the stock exchange. The idea of selling bankrupt enterprises to private stockholders, it is true, was voiced a few years back, though a bit timidly, when Milka Planinc was prime minister. For the present, however, it is only as a curiosity or as an argument to prove that social property is threatened that certain examples are given where some production operation which was going to ruin when it was publicly run has flourished when organized by small businessmen in the same city and with the same workers. We are still very far from a decision to really try something that might be called "socialist capitalism." On the basis of the most recent experience with the entanglement over the case of the Adriatic Highway and the idea of investing foreign capital, it appears that the forces of "real socialism" are still the stronger. We could have a situation, if it remains this way, when in a few years we will be a part of the illustrious chain of the last defenders of orthodoxy: Albania, Yugoslavia, Romania, by contrast with the bloc of "revisionists": the Hungarians, the Chinese, the Russians...who have introduced "capitalism."

When FEC chairman Branko Mikulic took office, he was met by a front of rejection consisting in the highest party and government bodies of officials from the two most highly developed republics and among economists and newsmen of advocates of a market economy. They accused him of "signaling right and turning left." All of his moves in the direction of a market economy were said to be intentionally halfway measures—in order to discredit the real economy. In the supreme body in the country—at least it is supposed to be under the Constitution—in the Yugoslav Assembly, Mikulic recently made a solemn declaration that he would discover who is preventing him from being consistent in implementing the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program and the policy proclaimed of moving closer to a market economy.

What is it that has reduced what once was Yugoslavia's bold and revolutionary economic thought, what once was a synonym for a country that was unceasingly searching for the new, whose Communists swore allegiance to the motto that nothing was so good or holy that it could not be replaced by something better, to a hard traditionalism willing to make cosmetic changes, but by no means to abandon the dogma?



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